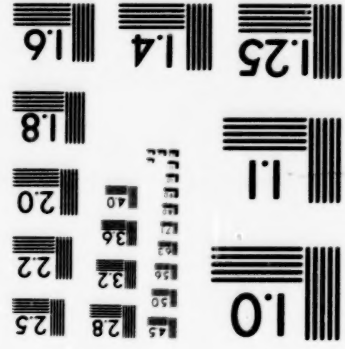
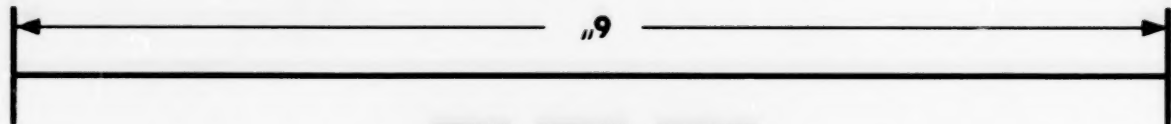
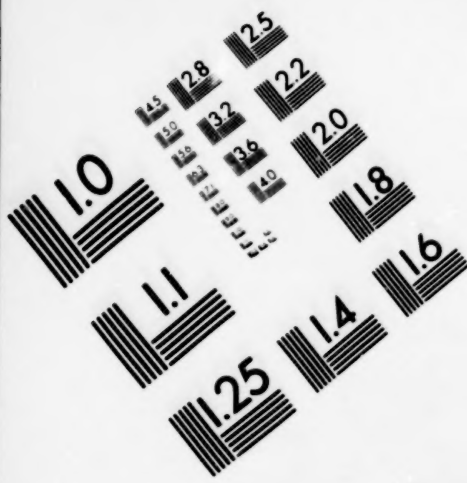


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JPRS 83505

19 May 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2143

**FBIS**

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19 May 1983

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2143

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LUZITANIAN SERBS' RIGHTS PROTECTED IN GDR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Mar 83 p 6

[Article by Frantisek Vydra: "The Smallest Slavic Nation. A Significant Anniversary of Luzitanian Serbs"]

[Text] A year before the GDR was founded, the so-called Saxon Council in Dresden adopted a law on 23 March 1948, which guaranteed to Luzitanian Serbs the rights to a Slavic mother tongue and to development of unique culture of their own. This law applied only to the Saxon part of Luzitania. In September 1950, a similar law was issued for Slavic population of the Prussian part of Luzitania, where for centuries the Germanic oppression had been greater and therefore, considerably weakening the Serbs' national awareness. Later, the GDR Constitution incorporated the rights of this smallest Slavic nation to its own language and culture.

According to statistical data, about 120,000 Luzitanian Serbs live today in both parts of Luzitania, GDR. In practice cultural autonomy has meant establishment of elementary schools in the bilingual area where Upper Luzitanian or Lower Luzitanian Serbian languages are taught in addition to German. Many various textbooks have been published. In Budysin (Bautzen) there is even a secondary general education school, where Serbian is taught in lower grades. Several types of newspapers and magazines are published, for example NOWA DOBA daily, ROZHLAD, a monthly devoted to culture, and a children's illustrated biweekly PLOMJO. During its existence, the Budysin publishing house Domowina published over eight million copies of books for children. The regional transmitter in Chotebuz (Cottbus) broadcasts regular programs in both Slavic Languages spoken in the Luzitanian territory. Some very old folk traditions and customs are being revived (decoration of Easter eggs, the "bird wedding"). Throughout all of Luzitania scores of amateur choirs and dance groups are active in preserving the riches of their nation's folklore. A large professional ethnic ensemble represents the Luzitanian art world wide. A branch of the GDR Academy of Sciences in Budysin (the Institute of Serbian Ethnography) monitors the growth of the modern Luzitanian Serbian vocabulary, conducts dialectical studies and makes film and slide records of folk costumes and architecture. Also, a Luzitanian Serbian studio was founded as part of the DEFA film company and has already made several films.

Every four years an elaborate ethnic folklife festival is held in the Upper Luzitanian capital, the Festival of Luzitanian Serbian culture. In 1984, the festival will be held already for the sixth time. Visitors to Budysin have the opportunity to see the museum of literature in the Serbian House, showing the development of Serbian literature from its earliest times (15th century) until now.

Many Czechoslovak tourists visit the beautiful landscape in Lower Luzitanian Blata (Spreewald), through which winds the Spreva river. In many places the countryside is crossed by high voltage lines and there are many thermal power stations. Since the discovery of rich lignite deposits, the original agricultural character of this region has changed considerably. People wearing folk costumes are no longer to be seen, however, worth seeing are the wooden folk architecture of the Ledy (Lehde) preservation area near Lubnjow (Lubbenau).

After the war, a relationship of cooperation and equality was established between the Serbs and the Germans with the equal rights of Luzitanian Serbs further guaranteed by their representation in the bodies of people's power. The Domowina national organization (founded in 1912) has become part of the National Front of the GDR.

9814

CSO: 2400/202

'TRIBUNA' ATTACKS POPE, VATICAN FINANCES

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 10, 9 Mar 83 p 15

[Article by Miroslav Borovicka: "Vatican Billions"]

[Text] In a number of encyclicals and various documents the Vatican has cursed socialism and praised capitalism. John Paul II is no exception. During a visit to the United States he declared that greatest imperialist power to be a land "of great spiritual wealth" founded on the "worship of democracy drawing on the values of Christianity," in short, the "cradle of democracy."

Immediately afterward the Roman pontiff received the title of "the Pope of Human Rights." Something for something. The pope did not mention even a word of how, in the spirit of this "democracy" drawing on "the values of Christianity," the government of the United States allows millions of its citizens to live in poverty, unemployment, oppression and terror. And that in the practice of this "democracy," millions of citizens of the "freest country on earth" are denied the most basic human rights. On all this and more the pope has chastely kept quiet.

Of course, it is well known throughout the world that human rights do not have "right of domicile" at the Vatican. Its leaders have always recognized and continue to recognize one right--the so-called natural right, that is the right to the inviolability of private property, the right to class inequality, the right to the exploitation of man by man. In the name of just that right, the Catholic Church had defended, as late as the 19th century, the trade in slaves; in the name of "natural right" the Vatican today supports capitalism. Its true face as "fighter for human rights"--in reality a supporter of capitalism--was revealed by Pope John Paul during the course of his visit to Mexico. When, in the town of Cuilapan, he spoke to the Mexican Indians, it is true that he condemned the egotism of the rich, but at the same time he warned the poor that it is necessary for them to "respect the just interests of the industrialists and the land owners." In a meeting in industrial Monterey he encouraged the workers to petition for "legal rights," but at the same time he called for humility and obedience, for a dutiful attitude toward breadgivers, and again emphasized the "natural right to private ownership and enterprise." In other words--that includes exploitation. Like his predecessor, he gave his blessings to capital.

## Hallowed Speculation

"Private ownership is sacred," is a concept the Vatican has affirmed in more than one encyclical. And it is no wonder, to be sure, for the Vatican itself is a capitalist which owns factories, banks and land, not only in Italy but on practically all continents. It is said of this center of the Catholic Church, which is situated on barely 0.44 square kilometers, that it is an institution where gain and loss, assets and debits, income and expenditure play the same role as with any other capitalist. In other words, the Vatican is the classic implementation of the principles of "big business."

Let us now give the word to the North American newspaper, the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, which has quoted the well-known Italian weekly L'EUROPE: "The Vatican and its holy orders own at least a quarter of Rome's building land. They have sold a certain part at tremendous profit, without paying taxes on it to Italy. The property of the Holy See includes buildings in the historic center of Rome and more than 2,000 hectares of building land on the outskirts of the capital. The Vatican is among the smallest states in the world; however, it is a real empire in the realm of land and building land, on which it does not pay tax because of an agreement concluded in 1929 between the Holy See and the Italian Government. It is impossible to estimate the economic value of this empire. For the Holy See is not interested in putting this property on the market."

This same newspaper reported somewhat later that the Vatican attacked the press for "false information" in an editorial published in the semiofficial Vatican newspaper L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO. "The article in the Italian weekly about building plots owned by the Vatican in Rome," says the editorial in the Vatican paper, "and about its speculations with taxes was an irresponsible insult. The continuation of similar attacks by the press could drive out of Rome religious institutions which bring the city value and money." As the saying goes, the shot hit the mark. Shedding tears, the editorial continued: "It is possible to express great regret and protest against how a remarkable segment of the weeklies and dailies distorts almost everything which concerns the Holy See, the Vatican and the Catholic Church. They would like to drive out of the city institutions which bring to the city the sympathy and love of the whole world." It is necessary to add that this was one of the longest replies by the Vatican to the problems of its wealth and possessions. Even this time, however, the Vatican did not say anything or reveal anything. The substance has remained concealed.

If as early as 1948 P. Togliatti had written that the church hierarchy was no longer a mere helper but a direct component of big capital, then the statistics of recent years bear witness to the fact that through about 140 banks the Vatican has at its disposal two-thirds of all Italian financial transactions. Also one can see the ever greater coalescence of the Vatican with the West European and world capital. The Vatican tries in vain to hide these and other facts from its believers and from world opinion. The facts speak for themselves.



For example, the firm Italcement, whose control the Vatican obtained after the war, produces one-third of all cement production in Italy and is one of the greatest producers of cement even on a worldwide scale. This corporation, with its headquarters in Bergamo, has considerable capital at its disposal. Another corporation which is controlled by the Vatican is Italgas, with headquarters in Turin. With its capital, it controls gas-works in 36 Italian cities, including Rome and Venice. The Vatican even makes a profit on Italian national foods like macaroni. The firm Molini and Pastificio Partanella also belong to the Vatican. In a similar manner the Vatican participates in the production of porcelain, textiles, paper, sugar, medications, and armaments. On the Roman hill, Monte Mario, which has the view of old monuments and Renaissance palaces, stands a much visited hotel. Hundreds and thousands of tourists do not know that two-thirds of the hotel belongs to the Vatican.

"Do not amass treasures on earth..."

Even the banking industry does not remain outside the attention of the Vatican hierarchy. The three largest Italian banks, Banco Commerciale Italiana, Credito Italiano and Banca di Roma have the most intimate contacts with the Vatican. Together with the papal Banco di Spirito (Bank of the Holy Ghost), they concentrate in their hands 20 percent of all deposits of the country and participate in 50 percent of all foreign transactions. It is well known that they own two-thirds of new stocks on the Italian stockmarket. The money of the Vatican empire is deposited in a whole series of foreign banks, among others in the United States and Switzerland. The Vatican maintains strict secrecy concerning all these and other financial transactions. For the Holy Book enjoins its faithful "not to amass treasures on earth where moth and rust can destroy them." The Vatican reneged on these words a long time ago. Its hoard of gold, in the form of gold bars, has been hidden away in the New York Reserve Bank.

The veil over the financial machinations of the Vatican was pulled aside a little last year by a big scandal in which both the Vatican bank and its administrator, Archbishop Marcinkus, were implicated. As is known, the bank granted loans to multimillion armament companies and credits to fictitious Latin American corporations. The Italian press wrote about \$1.2 billion of uncovered loans which were closely linked to the bankruptcy of the Italian Banco Ambrosiano. The bankruptcy affected about 200 Italian and foreign financial institutions, not excluding the Vatican bank.

The scandal did not break out with full force until June of last year, when in the depot housing metal tubes and located under the London bridge in Blackfriars a hanged man who was identified as Roberto Calvi, president of the Milan bank Banco Ambrosiano, was discovered.

The collapse of the Calvi empire was hastened by the refusal of "God's banker," Paul Marcinkus, to honor credits given to fake corporations in Latin America. Calvi had notarized guarantees which Banco Ambrosiano had obtained from Marcinkus, in which Marcinkus guaranteed payment in the name of the bank whose head is the pope. It became evident that the Vatican bank



was conducting extensive financial transactions and that Calvi was paying it commission on them. It is true that Marcinkus declared that the transactions "concerned a completely normal banking operation," and that "the hands of the bank are completely clean." However, even the North American weekly TIME was of a completely different opinion, and like it or not, had to pose the question as to why the Vatican, a religious institution, had entered at all into extensive financial operations which are at odds with the law. In answer to the question, the weekly said: "The Vatican is not just a religious organization, it is getting involved more and more in political machinations, for the conduct of which it needs money. It does not care how it gets the money."

This scandal has confirmed what has long been no secret, namely, that the Vatican is one of the largest capitalists, linked to international capital, to which it gives steadfast support. The false halo of innocence which the bourgeois propaganda places over this financial empire can change nothing about these facts.

12350

CSO: 2400/195

SOLIDARITY LEADERS ISSUE MAY DAY PROCLAMATIONS

London TYDZIEN I DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 16 Apr 83 p 1

/Text/ Provisional Coordinating Commission NSZZ "Solidarity" has issued two proclamations: for holidays of 1 May and 3 May. We are giving below the texts of these proclamations.

To The Working Men!

In the name of the NSZZ "Solidarnosc" and in the name of the Polish working people we are sending on the occasion of the 1st of May Holiday our greetings to all working men.

On this day the Polish workers will demonstrate under the banner of international solidarity. The Holiday of May came into being from the struggle for a dignity of human work. In 1886, in Chicago, workers paid with their lives for a right to their own union representation.

For us, Poles, Chicago was repeated in the Gdansk of December 1970, in the mining Silesia in 1981, in Lubin in 1982, and we are aware that it might be repeated several more times.

In the states governed by communists the union movement was destroyed and the window-dressing union organizations were wholly subordinated to the Party-state employer.

In August 1980, for the first time in the countries of real socialism we won the right to independent trade unions. The communist authorities, in danger of the loss of their monopolist power, was not reconciled with this fact. On the 13th of December of 1981 the counterrevolution struck. And again, as hundred years before, the workers' blood flowed. Against defenseless workers were used tanks and machineguns. The aim was to destroy the independent union movement.

From more than a year our union functions illegally under conditions of a political terrorism. Thousands of "Solidarity" workers have passed through camps and prisons, thousands continue to be imprisoned with long-term sentences. The striking and demonstrating workers were beaten, hundreds were crippled, and several dozen were murdered in cold blood only because they stood by their freedom and dignity. The repression continues. The union members are being thrown out of work. Many production enterprises were

militarized, and organization of compulsory labor camps was announced. People are persecuted for the exercise of natural human rights. Arrests and political trials continue. The political trial of seven members of the highest union authorities, already imprisoned for 15 months, is in preparation.

In preparation is a show trial of the members of the former Committee for the Defense of the Workers /KOR/.

The Polish Government has violated all the basic international agreements concerning workers' and civil rights. It broke all agreements concluded with its own society, and trampled under foot its own declarations.

"Solidarity" will not let itself to be destroyed. "Solidarity" lives and is well anchored in workplaces. The union functions and does not abandon defense of the right of working people in Poland. We are fighting for the right to free action, for the freedom of political prisoners, for desistance from the hunt for the workers of the independent union movement. We will act with determination, perseverance and deliberateness. Our aim is the social peace based on the respect of laws, which our society will consider as one's own. Only then the labor of the millions of Poles will be a source of spiritual values and material wealth of the whole nation.

The workers, in organizing last year the independent demonstrations have proved that for the Polish labor world the 1st of May has become a day of struggle for social rights. In this struggle we are not alone. From the very first days of August 1980 we are receiving help of the working people of the whole world. On the eve of the international holiday of the 1 May we address the words of thanks to the foreign occupational organizations and others, as well as to private persons, which by their generosity give ample evidence of interhuman solidarity.

To all working people who have still to take their first step toward independent trade unions we address the words of greetings, good cheer and encouragement. To those who live in democratic countries we wish steadfastness in the reinforcement and development of the independent professional movement.

Here, in Poland, we are fighting for something more than our own affairs. We deeply believe that our struggle is embracing the whole of mankind, and that it widens the areas of freedom and justice in the contemporary world. We need your support.

On the first of May you will demonstrate solidarity with the struggle of the Polish labor world.

Signed: Provisional Coordinating Committee NSZZ "Solidarnosc" - Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Hardek, Bogdan Lis, Jozef Pinior, Eugeniusz Szumiejko.

23 March 1983

## On the Anniversary of 3 May

Here is the proclamation of the 3 May Constitution.

An anniversary is approaching of the establishment of Constitution of May 3. One hundred ninety two years ago our great grandfathers adopted a document putting the country on the road of modern political and social development. The regeneration of the nation and state was at that time disrupted by the armed Russian intervention in support of the treasonous Targowica Confederation. This caused the fall of the Republic. But one did not succeed to enslave the Polish nation. Through the years of enslavement the memory of the Constitution of 3 May reinforced a belief in the final victory of the struggle for independence.

In August 1980, our movement inaugurated a process of social and economic changes. We created possibilities to save the country from a catastrophe into which Poland was thrust by 30 years of communist rule. Today, when a new Targowica tries to wreck this chance, the tradition of May 3 is especially dear to us.

On 3 May, in our workplaces, with one's Sunday best, ribbons with national colors, and one minute of silence at 12, we will pay homage to generations of Poles, Polish patriots, who gave their lives in the struggle for the freedom of Fatherland and the rights of the people. Let this day, in all Polish families, make us reminisce over our national past and our duty toward our Fatherland.

Signed: Provisional Coordinating Commission NSZZ "Solidarnosc" - Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Hardek, Bogdan Lis, Jozef Pinior, Eugeniusz Szumiejko.

1015

CSO: 2600/755

WIEJACZ DISCUSSES NATION'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 17 Mar 83 p 3

/Interview with deputy minister of foreign affairs PRL, Jozef Wiejacz, by Krzysztof Pogorzelec/

/Text/ Among letter addressed to the Editor of GLOS ROBOTNICZY /GR/ there is quite a number of those which contain inquiries about Polish affairs that are to be explained in an international context. We have asked therefore the deputy minister of foreign affairs PRL, Jozef Wiejacz, to respond to these inquiries and answers being sought most frequently by the readers of GLOS ROBOTNICZY.

/Question/ The first of these questions put by GR in a conversation with deputy minister J. Wiejacz was: - The very difficult economic situation in our country, a campaign unleashed against Poland by some states or political centers of the West, accompanied by a propaganda campaign, is the source of an opinion prevalent in certain circles of Polish society concerning a sharp decline of prestige of our country in the international arena. What is - in your opinion - the current standing of Poland among the great family of states and nations of the world?

/Answer/ In answering a thus formulated question one must, so to say, ask another question: on what virtually depends the international position of Poland or, after all, of any other country? Certain factors here are invariable and they did not change, i.e., the size of our country, its demographic potential and its location in Europe - we are a state and a nation situated and living in its very heart; there are here also historical and cultural traditions, and all this obviously did not change and acts to our advantage in the sense of a proper definition of the international position of Poland. One may and it is necessary to state that our alliance ties, mainly with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries play here also not a trifling role. On the other hand, the other factors, those which are variable, for example the economic situation or its development, internal political climate, were very unfavorable and could not be without effect on the international position of Poland, both as regards relations with allied states and with countries of the West. There are various different reasons for this of course. I think that it is worthwhile to stress here that the greater the stabilization, normalization and reasonable reform of our internal, economic life, the greater the progress in the formation of a front of patriotic forces, the greater will be the improvement in our international position.

/Question/ I understand that you Comrade Minister view the increase of the international prestige of Poland as a function of socioeconomic and internal political factors...

/Answer/ That's right! For, let us say it quite openly: if the normalization process will be taking place in the country's internal situation, along with an increasing support on the part of the society for the policy of the party and government, then, naturally, we take off the so-called "Polish question" as a factor of international policy and put a stop to the attempts at interfering in our internal affairs. This is a very important matter for the Polish international position. After all, this factor also defines the activity of Polish diplomacy. Diplomacy alone cannot guarantee a high position to any country.

/Question/ So it is the country and our internal situation that actually decide about Poland's international prestige...

/Answer/ Certainly! I also consider that there is an improvement in this matter, and that in the past year we achieved much as regards Poland's position in the world, that it is better than before, but it is surely not yet such that we would like it to be. A special improvement was achieved in our relations with the allied countries, where we again occupy the proper place among socialist countries in the Warsaw Pact and in the CEMA.

/Question/ Apart from this, you will agree, Comrade Minister, that in a rather wide circles of our society there is current - anyway as a specific echo of the massive propaganda campaign against Poland - opinion about a complete isolation of our country, and that the entire West, so to speak, is against Poland and against all that is going on in our country.

/Answer/ The attitude of the Western countries toward Poland is marked - to put it mildly - by criticism. We continue to be subjected on the part of the United States to a policy of economic sanctions and the interference in our internal affairs, and taking unfair advantage of our problems for various intents of American policy - mainly for anti-Soviet designs, as well in attempts at isolation of Poland in relations with the Western countries. Here again I will ask a question: is there in this field any change compared with the previous year...

/Question/ Just so, how does it look at present?

/Answer/ There is some change, although it is not as yet expressed by any departure from that basic political line which the West would like to impose on us. We of course cannot agree to these conditions imposed on us under pressure of sanctions. That would be tantamount to a denial of national dignity and also contrary to the interests of our country and nation. In solving our internal problems we must be guided by our own aims and not by those which would be to the liking of somebody in Washington, London or Paris. I think, however, that there is taking place, though slowly, a certain process among the countries of the West. They begin to realize that the policy which the West, and mainly the United States, adopted toward Poland cannot bring



about the expected results and cannot influence the internal situation in Poland, even though it might complicate certain things - for example the economic sanctions - and hinder the resolution of the crisis, whereas it contributes to deterioration of the relations of Poland with the Western countries. Against this background there arise rather numerous critical voices - also in the United States. Will it produce some reorientation in foreign policy - that will depend on many factors, among which I would again include a further improvement in internal normalization and in solving our economic problems. This process is assisted to the best of their ability by Polish diplomacy and foreign policy, helping to overcome the blockades being created or attempts at isolation of Poland in international arena. We are doing this and have achieved certain results at least in the form of a number of visits, even though as yet not at the highest level. This process however begins to develop more and more markedly. Our activity on the arena of international organizations was also not interrupted.

/Question/ The opinion that the so-called "Polish Question" is being manipulated by the West is not at all isolated, also as regards various international organizations, not excluding the United Nations, not to mention the International Labor Organization...

/Answer/ It is surely quite obvious that the attitude of the West and especially of the United States has been always up to now and probably will be exactly manipulative. After all, they even are not denying it. When in numerous conversations which I had with representatives of the Western countries, I put this question that with the use of Polish internal problems one intends to achieve some antisocialist aims directed against the USSR, my Western interlocutors did not deny it. They stated openly: why yes! And the consciousness of such manipulative treatment by the West of the so-called "Polish question" should be simply most widely publicized. For we still have an inclination to a certain megalomania, to a groundless belief that someone is so preoccupied with our affairs that they would go so far as to look at things in terms of "Poland and the rest of the world." Meanwhile it is quite frequently a cynical game in which there is no question at all to do something good to our country but simply to take advantage of the Polish internal problems for an overall campaign directed against socialist countries, in which not inconsiderable place is reserved, for example, for a plan of "plucking out" Poland from the camp of socialist countries. After all, I spoke about this frankly at one of the sessions of the so-called CSCE Review Conference in Madrid, and should say that this theme in my address was received with a rather great understanding also on the part of some delegations of the West, especially from smaller states, which perceive a great global game of the United States in which game the so-called "Polish question" is in fact of not a trifling importance.

/Question/ This is connected with a certain peripheral problem, i.e., the rather equally widely promoted opinion that the attitude of Americans of Polish origin with respect of our domestic affairs is unambiguously negative...

/Answer/ I cannot agree with such an opinion. The attitudes of Polish emigres are diverse, that is, alongside a negative attitude which occurs in fact, and even on the part of leading circles, for example, of the Congress of Americans of Polish origin it is aggravated, however, alongside this we encounter manifestations of friendship and sympathy often very specifically expressed. Example? Last year, at Poznan, an Economic Assembly of Americans of Polish Origin was held. It is estimated that it was the best of all previous ones in the sense of both representativeness and concrete economic results. We encounter also numerous positive declarations and expressions of sympathy, well, also with concern, for these people connect the getting of the country out of a crisis with their position in the communities and societies in which they live. We must also not be forgetting that the vast majority of Americans of Polish origin in their are interested in keeping in touch with the "old country," in which their families live, in order to continue traditions of cultural and scientific exchange. In our attitude toward these masses of Poles scattered around the world nothing has changed, which cannot be said unfortunately about leading circles of Polish emigres, especially in the United States, where we have to content with a line even more extreme than that assumed toward Poland by the Washington administration. This is regrettable, at least from that viewpoint that everyone now understands that the policy of sanctions is not aimed at the government, but rather hurts the society. And here Mister Mazewski or others behave as though this not yet penetrate their consciousness.

/Question/ Let us deal perhaps at present with most topical problems. A real shock for many Poles were revisionist utterances of the official representatives of Federal German Republic. There are also known the results of Bundestag elections. What conclusions should be drawn from these two facts?

/Answer/ We had denounced and will continue to denounce all manifestations of revisionism with not only our borders but with regard to the entire system of relations developed in Europe, system defined in Yalta and Potsdam, symptoms or policies that can endanger peace in Europe and in the entire world. As regards revisionist pronouncements, they were of special importance since they emanated from the members of government FRG. We reacted as one ought to with a sharp protest conveyed to a FRG Ambassador in Warsaw. At this point I draw attention to the fact that the security of Poland and the inviolability of its borders if is one of the pillars not only of our policy but of the whole security of Europe. What we have here simply is a specific feedback. And as regards the results of elections in FRG we certainly have to wait for an official policy statement on the part of the new government, whereas our position was defined with great succinctness by minister of foreign affairs Stefan Olszowski in his speech in the Sejm PRL of 31 January where on the one hand he assumed very critical attitude toward all attempts at undermining the Poland - FRG agreement, or revisionist pronouncements, and toward negative phenomena influencing West German opinion - I think here among other things about the so-called question of school textbooks, but on the other hand, if there will be some constructive premises in the position of this new FRG government we will not be deaf to them.

It is not declarations that will be of importance here, but facts. We will keep a close watch, for example, on such questions as to what extent the nationalistic influences would make their mark on the FRG policy, whether there will be reinforcement of connections between the policy of Bonn and Washington, and also the attitude of the FRG government to the disarmament question, for we have grounds to assume that the government cannot speak much of disarmament and act in other direction.

/Question/ Soon an important event will take place, not only as seen from the Polish perspective but also taking into account its international importance. I think of the announced for June the visit of John Paul II in Poland. In this connection many conjectures arise, among others concerning a further normalization of relations between Poland and Vatican...

/Answer/ In the first place, preparations for this visit in fact arouse great international interest, although I should note that in the West in connection with the visit of John Paul II in Poland there appear the extremist voices of those who consider that the Pontiff should not go to Poland, hinting thus that they are not for this visit since it can help Poland to come out of its isolation. I mention this so that our society be aware that in the West not all are in favor of the visit of John Paul II in Poland. And as regards the question of our relations with the Holy See this theme has already been addressed by minister Olszowski in his Sejm speech, and that circumspection is understandable, for we cannot speak too much if the whole matter was not coordinated with the other side. Anyway, this declaration of minister Olszowski may be interpreted as our readiness to go farther in the normalization of interstate relations, given that Vatican is also a state. These relations are safeguarded at present in that we have a minister-counselor in Rome designated for permanent contacts with Vatican, and on the other hand archbishop Poggi visits Warsaw from time to time. In connection with this the question arose whether we should not institute a normal condition, that is, to maintain normal diplomatic contacts which would mean the creation of a diplomatic PRL mission at the Vatican and a papal nuncio's mission in Warsaw. For the time being I can only say this, for I do not know the attitude of the Vatican toward this matter. Diplomacy of the Vatican, frequently praised, works slowly. Anyway, one may - before the visit of John Paul II in Poland or during it - expect progress in this matter.

/Question/ I thank you, comrade minister, for the interview.

1015

CSO: 2600/693

ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY TRADE CENTER DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 31 Mar 1983 p 6

/Article by Second-Lieutenant Tadeusz Pieklo: "Yesterday and Tomorrow of the Military Trade"/

/Text/ The military trade united in the several dozens of enterprises and local branches in the course of last few years has assumed significantly increased duties. The Military Trade /WCH/ Center, running department stores and shops both in military units, institutions and workplaces and in public places - has increased its sales several times over. It has to do with the necessity of satisfying the most urgent needs of the military milieu as well in the field of industrial good supplies as in - above all - provisions.

The increased tasks of the WCH stem from the general situation of the market in the country. The situation, as it is well-known, is not satisfying. We have and will have in the near future a producers market, that is, a shortage of supply of many basic products. The WCH strives to alleviate the consequences of the shortage of the offered goods either by undertaking a costly production (for instance, some clothing products for children and youth) or extending the network of services and their scope, as well as developing local initiatives aiming at acquiring merchandise directly from the producer.

In an attempt to fulfill the basic needs of the military milieu for which the shops and WCH agencies (especially in the remote garrisons) are frequently the only source of supply - military businessmen labour under difficulties. The most common and persistent difficulty is the shortage of warehouse space. Ever since the WCH was separated from the national trade network and made a military enterprise - the whole bulk of merchandise flowed directly from the producer to the local enterprise warehouse. And as the circulation of merchandise may be only speeded up to certain limits and the deliveries are not regular, whence the periodical accumulations of merchandise that provoke recurrent troubles and cause a lot of concern to the enterprises.

Another difficulty is the transfer of the specialists from the WCH service agencies to the non-military labor market where they are being offered more attractive salaries. The salaries - are also one of the reason that reduce interest in the cost production. Thus, this is something to think about in planning to resolve these problems in the future. Nonetheless, the exceptionally difficult tasks in the 1982 the military trade fulfilled quite well,



balancing, within the limits of its possibilities, the level of supply of the military milieus in the entire country. It ensured also the full rationing supply of the scarce food products. The deliveries of the delicatessen products increased by 15 percent and confectionary products by 10 percent, all of which have been made at the WCH facilities. The reason why the WCH activities related to the scarce supply has worked out so well has been largely due to the devoted social work commissions on living conditions as well as the team of social control which justly have been distributing unrational scarce merchandise among the consumers.

In the current year the WCH intends, among other things, to ensure full supply of the delicatessen and confectionary products, increase the deliveries of the industrial products within the 14-40 percent limits, including furniture up by 80 percent. It is being planned that the value of the services will increase by 17 percent.

The military trade, despite the difficulties, will make the cost production of the clothes for children and youth more efficient, committing particularly to this work people from the military families' milieus. The whole increase of this production will be directed to the WCH facilities.

Quite important tasks will face the military trade in the field of the quality service for the consumers and improvement of the sanitary conditions. According to the watchword: "the military brings on culture and order". Perhaps, the problem with the time-consuming realization of purchases will diminish, of which complain the military customers of the WCH at the Nation's capital garrison? By the way, it has been said that it was in Warsaw that the WCH has had a lot to do, for many matters have to be solved and, the military trade in the Nation's capital has been dragging on.

The years 1983-84 will be for the military trade a period of intensive work. Increased tasks and struggle for the quality and culture of action. Each initiative aiming at improving the activity of shops, sale stations, services, better utilization of warehouse space, increasing the efficiency and quality of the service for the customers will be diligently put into effect. In an attempt to fully satisfy the needs of the military trade milieu the WCH businessmen, today already self-managing, independent as well as self-financing - will act flexibly and vigorously in order to eliminate the weaknesses in the system of the supply, services and production.

The aforementioned matters as well as problems of reducing merchandise handling, improving transportation, equalizing the supply differences, solving tasks stemming from the implementation of the economic reform in the enterprises as well as about the main guidelines of the money-credit policy in the activity of the military trade were discussed during meetings of the directors of the local enterprises and branches of the WCH, which were held in Warsaw. In the activities of the military trade management board took part the Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army, deputy-minister of the Ministry of National Defense, general Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski. The evaluation of the 1982 results has been examined and tasks for 1983-84 determined. The matters related to

the holiday supply as well as the forthcoming spring action for the cadres uniform supply have been considered; the state of the uniform reserves has been evaluated and in agreement with the Staff Command of the Uniform Service of the Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army - a decision has been made concerning the improvement of this above-mentioned supply and the easing out of some restrictions.

General Obiedzinski praised the activity of the military trade for the last year and on behalf of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense expressed thanks to all career soldiers and employees of the WCH for their active work and effort, serving well the better fulfillment of the social needs of the military milieu. He has discussed also the main aims related to the growing tasks of the WCH and changes occurring as well in the work of the enterprises as in the supply system of the soldiers and cadres.

During the meeting, which was moderated by the first director of the WCH, colonel Edward Godlewski, in the speeches of the superior officers and discussion, it has been stressed that the military trade has been an integral part of the economic apparatus of the army. This is why the first duty of the WCH is to serve most efficiently the cadres, their families, and the entire military milieu in order to attenuate effectively the burdens of the daily supply of the basic alimentary and industrial products.

12328

CSO: 2600/711



PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Elblag-Gdansk Provinces PRON Meeting

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 22 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by cyb, A. Furchel, k]

[Text] Still going on before the approaching congress of PRON, is the program-election campaign in the Elblag province, which was inaugurated March 6 of this year as the plenary session of the PRON's Temporary Provincial Executive Council at which the organizational state, structure of the movement and assignments during the precongress period were discussed. To take place April 7 the First Provincial Convention of Delegates will be, among other things, devoted to an analysis of achievements of that movement up to this time and to election of delegates to the central congress. In total, 18 delegates will represent the Elblag province at the congress, of which 11 will be elected by regional conferences.

During the course of PRON plenary meeting which took place recently in the regional administrative channels of the movement, discussed were projects for program-organizational documents, proclamations and statutes, as well as programs of action. Also, delegates to the regional conferences and provincial division of PRON were elected. An important stage in the work of the movement was completed March 17 of this year--creation of territorial councils of PRON, which already exist in all 41 administrative units of the province.

Plenary sessions of PRON had the character of open meetings. Alongside previous members, private individuals and representatives of institutions and organizations declaring participation in the movement and supporting it with active programs participated in the sessions. From October of last year to March 17 of this year about two thousand people have signed up as new members of PRON. Housing development and village self-governments, as well as social, youth and women's organizations play an important part in this.

In addition to the PRON meeting, district conferences and meetings took place--as active signatories of the movement they create a forum for discussion on the project of political proclamation and statute principles

of PRON. This week in six districts of the province--in the city of Elblag and township of Elblag, Braniew, Kwidzyn, Nowy Dwor Gdanski, Pasiiek--delegations of regional administrative channels will gather to discuss perspectives of PRON in the country as well as the position and role of society in joint control of a socialist country.

Activists and members of PRON act everyday with various initiatives which serve the idea of understanding and solution of the most urgent district needs. They undertake tasks which are connected with culture, education, health service, agriculture, functioning of administrative services, trade and services. They inspire the fight with waste, speculation and all symptoms of social pathology.

#### In Malbork

In Malbork representatives of PRON from nine basic administrative units discussed activity of the patriotic movement up to this time, outlined directions of further development and elected delegates to the national PRON congress.

Chairman of the Temporary PRON Council in Malbork--Jerzy Urbanski--gave a program report in which he described activity of the movement directed toward national understanding. In an interesting discussion 12 representatives of various districts spoke up. Thought was given to what PRON should occupy itself with and how it should act in order to gain wide support of society. There was an agreement of opinions that authorities on all levels should more frequently consult society on important decisions. Marke Lewandowski from the Malbork organization ascertained, that it is necessary to act in such a way as to convince people about the credibility of PRON. Janusz Zielinski from Malbork spoke with distress and concern about various education problems of youth. Zbingniew Kornacki from Ryjew as well as Jadwiga Lipinska--farmer from Nowy Staw--gave an appeal for greater help to agriculture, especially in rebuilding water drainage systems. Criticized were unnecessary problems in arranging various matters through the administration, on which impractical regulations frequently have an influence. A concrete position toward historical monuments is awaited from the provincial conservationist.

The regional convention elected two delegates to the PRON congress in Warsaw. 58 delegates will represent the Malbork region at the provincial convention.

#### In Koscierzyna

Among others, members of the Provincial Temporary PRON Council Presidium--Leon Lendzion--as well as representatives of city and township political and administrative authorities participated in the reports-program conference of the Temporary PRON Council from the city and township of Koscierzyna. Proposals announced to the Temporary City-Township PRON

Council were presented by its chairman--Edmund Podjaski. The residents of the city and township of Kosciierzyna are impatiently waiting for a new hospital. This year work will begin on the entrance drive and utility lines will be installed underground on the new hospital's grounds. Natural gas will be supplied to apartments already before Easter. Efforts are underway to divide land into new garden plots. Building of an underpass under the railroad tracks opposite the Village Cooperative wasn't actualized. Many problems in the field of environmental protection have to be solved: rebuilding of the waste water treatment plant is necessary as soon as possible. There are propositions to organize a small young people's apartment cooperative. These and other problems are undertaken commonly with the City-Township National Council through the PRON Temporary Council of the city and township of Kosciierzyna.

In the discussion the most time was devoted to perspectives on the construction of a new Kosciierzyna hospital. Head of the city and township--Witold Cerowski--informed us that provincial as well as central authorities recognized the hospital as an indispensable investment. There is a hope that this project will be included in the investment plan for 1984. The PRON Council directed an appeal to the residents of Kosciierzyna, in which it urges the residents to make additional payments into the National Health Protection Fund.

During deliberations a 19 person PRON council for the city and township of Kosciierzyna was selected. Edmund Podjaski--chairman of the Board of Directors for the Village Cooperative in Kosciierzyna--was elected chairman of the presidium. Delegates to the regional and provincial PRON conference were also selected.

In Puck

Over 110 persons took part in the City-Township PRON Conference in Puck. Present were representatives of political and administrative authorities for the region. Preceding the election of two delegates to the national PRON congress as well as to the provincial conference, was discussion on activity in the area of social care, concrete propositions in connection with that matter, acceptance of general assumptions of the PRON proposition, and of assumptions of the statute.

#### Elk PRON Regional Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSOLCZESNA in Polish 24 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by J. Marks]

[Text] Previously elected delegates to the provincial convention, members of the Temporary Provincial PRON Council from the Elk region, representatives-signatories of the Movement met at the regional conference of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in Elk. Members of the presidium TWR and chairman of the Democratic Party Provincial Committee--Jerzy Gryko--was present. Among other things the program-election campaign was evaluated.

Chairmen and members of district councils related accounts on the subject. Chairman of the conference--Wincenty Sanejko--stipulated, that they should be concise reports of a subject matter limited to presentation of organizational and merital questions without touching broadly on economic problems, for those problems dominated the township and town conferences.

In a later part of the meeting Jerzy Gryko familiarized those at the meeting with the order and rules for the sessions of the approaching first provincial PRON convention.

The first to speak up in the discussion was chairman of the municipal government Socialist Union of Polish Youth -- Danuta Zyskowska. She stated, that it isn't important that one is a member of PRON, but that one actively participates in its activity. Society, especially youth, awaits specifics. Next Zenon Swistow on the other hand fittingly brought up that, judging by the contents of the reports presented, there is still much to be done. According to him the participation of large production plants' crews as well as youth in the Movement is also too small.

We also shouldn't talk so much, but above all take action. Our role must not exclusively limit itself to opinionating certain matters and undertakings. The speaker was critically referring to the time allotted for carrying out the campaign. He outlined it as being too short in order to accurately discuss and work out everything.

Wincenty Sanejko spoke up with a controversial opinion.

It doesn't matter whether our Movement is large number-wise. It is enough if it's an alive and authentic movement which draws in valued people.

Matylda Kosiorek agreed that, just as up to now, there are few women in the Movement. But whose fault is it that they don't have time to give of themselves socially; that they are forced, for instance, to stand in lines. However, in spite of various contradictions something must be done and a lot of it. Only then will people have confidence in us and will follow us. If the results of our work won't be seen, no one will even lift a finger in order to support us...

Edmund Cwikowski: I'm afraid, that with time we could become too much of a formalized and bureaucratized organization. We are amusing ourselves too much with various types of elections: to the presidium and again to the commission. Today we are already agreeing on who will speak at the provincial convention and for how many minutes.

Andrzej Maculewicz: If we want to mean something we shouldn't be only a discussion club. That can be done with friends while drinking coffee. Of course, it is necessary to talk, even to argue, but from that must come concrete action. I don't agree with those that feel that it isn't important how many of us there are and how many there will be. If we are striving to make our Movement really social and representative of

a broad social opinion, we must be a large mass organization. The proposition, that we need good and valued people is relative and one can interpret it in various ways. That someone is good still doesn't clear anything up because for some people they can be good and not for others.

In my opinion we should be, so to say, an extension of representative organizations and create a so-called election platform. Only, so that it won't be just one more political manipulation. And we should designate and search for candidates as council members and envoys in such a way, so that people won't accuse us of ballot stuffing.

Every human action must have a motivation. In professional work it is the earnings. On the other hand in social work such a stimulus should surely be the effectiveness of this work. In order for that to happen we must keep an eye on the authorities. Our rightful initiatives must be controlled and carried out to the end by us...

The conclusions from that discussion were written down and will be presented at the provincial convention, at which 27 delegates will represent the Elk region. At the conference a representative to the convention's presidium was announced, as well as candidates for members of the resolution and proposal, recommendation and revisionary commissions. A delegate was also elected to the national congress. Elected was director of the Kalinow pharmacy--Barbara Glowack. The convention will elect the remaining two delegates on April 9.

#### Gdansk PRON Pre-Congress Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] In the Gdansk province city and township conferences of the temporary PRON councils have begun. Being discussed are projects for program proclamations, statute principles, and also effects up to this time of work on dialogue toward an understanding as well as an atmosphere that favors maintaining public order. Preparing for the provincial conference district councils of PRON are also formulating directions for their own work based on broadly outlined conferences and social initiatives.

Below are accounts of the PRON conferences in Gdansk, Tczew and Gniew.

In Gdansk

Chairman of the Provincial Temporary PRON Council--Navy Captain Walenty Milenuszkin, chairman of the City's National Council--Piotr Rajca, mayor of Gdansk--Kazimierz Rynkowski, and commissioner of the city--commodore Bohdan Kurzyca took part in the conference of the Municipal Temporary PRON Council in Gdansk. Vice-chairman of the Municipal Temporary PRON Council--Henryk Sandach--led the session.



Those gathered heard a report of previous activity of the Municipal Temporary PRON Council, which was formed 26 October 1982. Its work was mainly directed toward creating a climate of social understanding, solution of conflicts through dialogue, and creating an atmosphere of disapproval toward actions which disrupt the peace and legal order within the city. Those efforts gave rise to concrete results. In an ever decreasing degree society heeded the call to organization of hostile demonstrations and street riots. An unusually weak response to attempts of provoking unrest in the last few days.

In the discussion the attitude assumed was to the merital contents contained in the project of the PRON program proclamation and to statute principles. In general, those projects were accepted, proposing nonetheless a few amendments intended to expressly bring to the forefront the openness of the movement for all people of good will, for which very dear is the good of the country as well as the opinion setting role of PRON as a plane of discussion and interplay of various views.

A resolution to disband the Municipal Temporary PRON Council as of March 15 of this year was passed and thanks were expressed to its authorities and all of its members for their generous and unselfish labors. In its place the Municipal Council for the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] and its 31 person presidium was elected. Also delegates to the conference of the Temporary Provincial PRON Council and to the national PRON congress were elected.

A program of action for the Municipal PRON Council was undertaken. Among other things the program initiates a climate of national understanding and liberating social activeness through organization of social consultation on topics most vital to the residents of Gdansk, and also of organizing meetings with envoys to the Sejm, councillors, members of the PRON leadership. In addition it intends to initiate work in economic and historical education of the younger generation as well as liberating social initiatives, among others in the area of improving the sanitary state of the city, its esthetics, environmental protection and improvement of society's state of health.

The conference passed a resolution condemning the rebirth of retaliatory and revisionistic tendencies in West Germany.

In Tczew

What kind of resources do the Tczew social workers brought together in PRON organizations possess? What kind of tasks must they accomplish in the near future in order to bring the national understanding to reality and lead the country from the crisis? These were the basic questions which were tried to be answered yesterday during the conference of the Temporary Municipal PRON Council in Tczew held with the participation of presidium member of the Temporary Provincial PRON Council--deputy commander of the Navy, Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski. Guests of the meeting, who helped chairman of the Temporary Municipal PRON Council--Ryszard Dabrowski--lead the meeting, were: First Secretary of the PZPR Town



Committee in Tczew--Zygmunt Grabowski, chairman of the United Peasants' Party City-Township Committee--Piotr Barcikowski, chairman of the Ministry of Transportation of the Democratic Party--Bronislaw Gozdzielewski, mayor of Tczew--Czeslaw Glinkowski, as well as chairman of the People's Town Council--Wladyslawa Podciborska.

In the report given by the chairman of the Temporary Municipal PRON Council--Ryszard Dabrowski, as well in the discussion, indicated was the essential role of PRON social workers in conquering the difficulty of everyday life and in realization of the idea of national understanding, creating to a large degree the conditions for efficiency of anticrisis activities. Much time was devoted to development of closer ties in the place of residence, which should favor the proper development of housing developments and avert social pathology.

During the conference chairman to the PRON Municipal Consultative-Programing Council was elected. The choice fell upon Ryszard Dabrowski--previously chairman of the PRON Temporary Municipal Council. Besides that, two delegates were elected to the national PRON congress as well as four delegates to the provincial PRON convention. A resolution was passed condemning recent revisionistic declaration of West German politicians negotiating international agreements and threatening peace in Europe.

After the conference the first session of the PRON Municipal Consultative-Programing Council took place, at which problematic commissions were brought to light and vice-chairmen of the presidium were elected. Elected vice-chairmen were Bronislaw Gozdzielewski, Henryk Lopata and Wladyslawa Podolborska.

In Gniew

Member of the Temporary Provincial PRON Council--Zbingniew Pestka--participated in the city-township conference of PRON in Gniew. Invited to participation in the session, in which 120 delegates participated, were First Secretary of the KMG PZPR in Gniew--Henryk Struczynski, chairman of the Ministry of Municipal Economy of the United Peasants' Party--Marek Kluczynski, chairman of the Ministry of Transportation of the Democratic Party--Andrej Weselowski, and city and township manager--Jerzy Osowski. Chairman of the Temporary City-Township PRON Council--Bogdan Szarafin--pointed out its countless accomplishments. In the course of the year PRON social workers from Gniew and the township were employed with the most vital matters, which smoothed out existing difficulties and served to improve residents' standard of life.

The delegates selected a 45-person City-Township PRON Council, which during the present term will attend to activization of cultural life in the city and township, improving the supply of water to the village and many other matters resulting from the resolution of the Temporary National PRON Council.

During the meeting Bogdan Szarafin was elected as chairman of the PRON City-Township Council. Elected as vice-chair men were Czeslawa Krzeminska, Kazimierz Lietza and Zofia Slizewska.

#### Lenin Shipyard Pre-Congress PRON Meeting

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 24 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by H. Nowadzyk; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface.]

[Text] /At the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard--leading industry on the coast--the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth gained general acceptance for itself thanks to many interesting social initiatives./

/Jozef Bogdanowicz, longtime expert in the S-5 section is a member--the founder--of the shipyard PRON. He has worked at the shipyard for over 30 years. He is one of those, who become rooted here for good, tying their whole life in with this company./

Our movement--says J. Bogdanowicz--was born from an authentic need for action toward agreement. We would not like to be those, who only shake their hand in agreement, but who desires to devote all their energies to that idea. National agreement, socialism, which of course means social justice and equality are mottos which have grown out of our national tradition.

/So far as I know, the shipyard PRON is getting larger and larger.../

To put it plainly, people have become convinced that our words, declarations, are backed up with action. We are gaining the confidence of our fellow workers more and more. And the result is such that the number of members is growing. Many of those joining are young people.

/I would like to emphasize--says the person in conversation with me--that actually the company PRON has set for itself the purpose of reactivating the workers' self-management. Admittedly that self-management was elected still before appearance of the pertinent law, from which its regulations were also in disagreement with contents of the given legal norm. We find it advisable to adapt those regulations to the laws in effect./

We were at one meeting of the presidium of the suspended self-government--we were convinced. Next we turned to the head office in order to call a plenary session. Unfortunately a dispute arose about the format of the regulation, but actually, because of legal reasons, it cannot be contradictory to the by-laws.

/They didn't stop there however.../

Yes. Presently a new founding committee was appointed. Elections to the self-government will probably take place in April.

/The next assignment which we have placed before us--says J. Bogdanowicz--is the question of apartments. We can't be indifferent to the fact that about 2,500 of our fellow workers don't have their own apartment, wander from one sublet room to another, or live in some hole. The guarantee of an apartment, actually is one of the forms of stabilization of work crews and counteracting overturn. The program for solving our apartment problems is known to the work crew. Newspapers also wrote about it. I'm thinking here about shipyard one-family and multiple-family buildings. Presently we are doing everything in order to speed up the process involved with acquiring a building site./

/The company PRON doesn't limit itself exclusively to work within the bounds of the shipyard?/

We elected five delegates to the city council. We have "our people" in the provincial council. We also elected a delegate to the approaching congress. At the beginning of April of this year we intend to organize a meeting of the shipyard PRON organization in the framework of precongress discussion. In the near future we also want to take upon ourselves the problem of health protection for shipyard workers. For, too many of our fellow workers suffer from work related sicknesses.

/I would like to emphasize--the expert points out--that in our, after all, difficult work, which should rather be called hard social service, we can always count on the help of the Temporary Provincial Council./

/But in spite of everyday hardships, in spite of unwillingness and passiveness of a part of the work crew, we get satisfaction from the fact that more and more people don't only believe in the need for a national, patriotic understanding and rebirth, but are convinced that it can be achieved./

12281

CSO: 2600/696

POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Gorzow Province on Telecommunications

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 3 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (F-B): "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Gorzow Province PZPR Committee: Status of Telecommunication Services in the Province; Information on Citizens' Grievances and Letters; Assessment of Ideological Activity Among the Workers; Acceptance of Materials for the Next Province Committee Plenum"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The topics named in the subtitles were discussed yesterday by the Executive Board of the Gorzow Province PZPR Committee./

/As the first item on its agenda, the Executive Board [EB] has, with the participation of the heads of the Poznan Telecommunications District and the Gorzow Province Telecommunications Office, and on the basis of concrete data, found that services of this type have markedly deteriorated in recent years both quantitatively and qualitatively./ Telecommunication facilities in the province are so obsolete and neglected that--as was stated--the very fact that the functioning of the province's organism in recent years has not ground down to a halt is solely owing to the operativeness, commitment and resourcefulness of telecommunications personnel. A definite majority of that personnel in the Gorzow Province display well-conceived and implemented occupational patriotism. But their working conditions are gradually deteriorating. At the same time, nearly 14,000 applicants have long been waiting for new telephones. There are prospects and real chances for improvement. In a few months, once the questions of the coordination, etc, of investment projects, including telecommunications and related fields, are resolved, a session of the Province People's Council [WRN] will be held in Gorzow and adopt the necessary decisions.

Letters and complaints by citizens received by the administration and by party echelons at basic level indicate that last year there occurred changes which apparently point to an increase in the trust of citizens in the local authorities: compared with the preceding year, the number of complaints addressed directly to the so-called higher levels has decreased, while the number addressed to the basic level, i.e. to city and gmina authorities, has increased. This is--it was stressed--a positive phenomenon but in no case should hasty conclusions be drawn from it. As long as justified grievances due to unjust and mistaken

decisions affecting particular human problems continue, complacency is not warranted. On the other hand, it is urgently necessary to investigate the identity and reasons of those who make unjust and incompetent decisions, and to draw appropriate conclusions as regards personnel policy. Effectiveness of response to justified complaints of citizens was and remains in the center of attention of the party and its echelons.

The party's ideological activity among workers and its level still leave much to be desired. Although the political information flowing from the Central Committee to the bottom has markedly improved (information on the situation of the country and the party is being transmitted), it does not always reach its principal addressee--the party aktiv and members in work establishments and worker communities. It sometimes happens that this flow of information is dammed en route at the offices of the basic party echelons. Political work with plant work forces cannot--it was stressed--be isolated from the organizational-economic activities of enterprises and "suspended in mid-air." The party's ideological activity can be effective only when it reaches the minds of people in concrete worker communities--at any rate, the minds of those who can think calmly and soberly and weigh reasons. The effectiveness of the party's ideological work is just as much decided by the attitude of party members: by the extent to which their words are consonant with deeds. This effectiveness is perhaps one of the most difficult issues. So many practical measures are to be taken. Things already are being done, and will be done.

Next, the EB discussed and confirmed the materials and procedure for organizing the deliberations of the next plenum of the PZPR Province Committee. Its main topic will be: "The Party's Tasks in Maintaining Discipline, Law and Order and Public Security in the Gorzow Province." Each item on the agenda of the coming plenum was based on specific working proposals which will be transmitted via intra-party channels to the echelons and organizations of the PZPR

#### Elblag Province on Field Trip Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 4 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by (sw): "In Elblag"]

Text The Executive Board [EB] of the Elblag Province PZPR Committee has, at its circuit session yesterday, analyzed the performance of the Braniew Gmina PZPR Committee. The discussion was preceded by trips of EB members to selected work establishments and institutions operating in the gmina, with the object of familiarizing themselves with local economic and party-work problems. The report of the EB of the gmina PZPR committee on that echelon's performance during its current term of office served as the opening point in the discussion. It was expanded upon by Wlodzimierz Lewkowicz, first secretary of the gmina party committee. As he put it, four basic stages can be distinguished in the echelon's work, each with its own specific features and new tasks to the gmina PZPR aktiv. During the first stage attention was focused on safeguarding law and order within the gmina. Many efforts also were devoted to performing on schedule the indispensable agricultural work. Another highly important task was combatting apathy and passive attitudes among party members.



Subsequently the EB became the coordinator in solving economic and socio-political problems. Talks with the aktiv were conducted to point out to it the anti-socialist forces and the pernicious nature of the program proposed by the extremist forces of Solidarity. At the same time, the public was mobilized to implement economic tasks. The introduction of the martial law caused the gmina aktiv of the PZPR to have many more tasks. The gmina committee EB and the political-social aktiv have, jointly with the United Peasant Party [ZSL], devoted much attention to the activities of the Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON], the social service commissions at work establishments and the people's council.

The past period provided a lesson in political struggle. Some party members vacillated during that period. The membership of the gmina party organization decreased 15 percent in the last 2 years. It now has 582 members and 10 candidate members of the PZPR. The EB of the gmina committee has recommended to all basic party organizations [POP] that they tighten criteria for admission to the party and thus eliminate accidental or vacillating people. The EB regards the following as being among the most important economic tasks: flood control measures in the gmina, the building of local roads, repair and expansion of schools, the development of housing construction on State Farms [PGR] and, lastly, improved medical care for PGR employees and the gmina population. Furthermore, as found by the PZPR Province Committee inspection team, it will be expedient to take steps to gain new members for the party while preserving the high criteria for the selection of candidates.

At the same time it was found that further progress has occurred in the work of the gmina party echelon during the past period. This especially concerns discipline and attendance of meetings.

The discussion focused on intra-party matters, ideological training, cooperation with youth and the situation of the region's agriculture.

#### Gdansk Province Executive on Echelons

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 4 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by (j): "Deliberations of Executive Boards of the Province Party Echelons"]

[Text] The specific nature of the work of the crews manning our merchant and fishing fleets--the weeks and sometimes months they spend far from the country--requires special and varied forms of ideological-upbringing work. This issue was the topic of a resolution of the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee nearly 8 years ago. The implementation of that resolution promoted a comprehensive solution of many related problems, including the acceptance, by shipowner enterprises, of the principle that ideological-upbringing work is an important part of their tasks.

In the last 2-3 years, however, the pulse of ideological-upbringing work among the floating crews has markedly weakened and political-training work on ships has

even been halted. The supply of ships with educational materials, films, etc. as well as with audio-visual equipment has also deteriorated.

Now that the docking time of our ships in Polish harbors has been markedly shortened and the sojourn of our crews abroad has become lengthened, while at the same time the offensive of diversionary propaganda-radio centers broadcasting Polish-language programs has been intensified, assuring merchant and fishing ship personnel with the best possible and regular communications with the country is a matter of special importance.

The Executive Board [EB] of the Province Committee discussed yesterday the implementation of the aforementioned resolution of the Central Committee Secretariat and the need to quicken ideological-upbringing work among the floating crews of shipowner enterprises and stressed the importance of efficient radio communication with the ships and the need to streamline the ways of providing their crews with information at the best merit-based level. It also devoted much attention to improving the ideological-moral preparation of personnel for work on the sea. In this connection, the Province Committee EB formulated appropriate conclusions.

As the second item on its agenda the EB discussed problems of employment in the Gdansk Province while the economic reform is being introduced. Last year employment in the socialized economy decreased by more than 19,000 (about 26,000 persons retired earlier under the new pension laws), while the number of job vacancies in work establishments averaged 10,000 a month, chiefly in construction and the shipyard and machinery industries. At the same time, idling time in the industry of the Gdansk Province last year increased more than 6 percent compared with the preceding year 1981. Absenteeism per worker in the industry owing to various reasons has grown to 1.5 months on the yearly scale.

In a nutshell, in 1982, despite the introduction of the economic reform, employment has not been streamlined, and there is even a tendency to "retain" dispensable employees. At the same time manpower is scarce in certain fields such as the health service, housing and urban transit.

Conclusions: Until the economic reform necessitates the rationalization of employment and the transfer of part of manpower to the plants actually experiencing manpower shortages, it will be necessary to hire workers from outside the province for work in production shipyards and for building the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec. Measures to reduce personnel turnover and tighten work discipline will be needed while at the same time inducing--by means of mechanisms of the reform--the enterprises to rationalize their employment markedly. The training curriculum at supra-elementary schools in the Gdansk Province also needs to be examined so as to allow for the current and future needs of the region's economy.

As the last item on its agenda the EB considered the activity of youth organizations in Gdansk Province schools. Scouts are the largest youth organization, with every fifth pupil belonging to it. On the other hand, fewer than 8,500 young people belong to the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] and only about 300 persons (in agricultural-type schools) belong to the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW]. Thus all three organizations undoubtedly account for only a small

percentage of school youth. That is why the province echelons of these youth organizations and the heads of the Main Inspectorate for Education and Upbringing under the Province Office were placed under the obligation of drafting a program for cooperation in the development, strengthening and activities of ideological-upbringing organizations at schools of various levels.

#### Gdansk Province Meeting on Aktivs

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 10 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by (now): "Conference of Party Aktiv" under the rubric "At the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The current socio-economic and political situation of the country and the province and, against this background, the determination of tasks for party echelons and organization were the issues discussed at yesterday's conference of the first secretaries of PZPR city, gmina and plant committees. Also present were workers of the party apparatus and the chief editors of the press, radio and television.

/The conference, chaired by Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee, was attended by the Province Committee secretaries Leon Brancewicz and Edward Kijek./

/The first secretary of the Province Committee familiarized those present with the assessment of the reports campaign within the party, performed by the Politburo of the Central Committee./ The campaign contributed to the consolidation of party members and their rallying round the program line of the PZPR. It also revealed certain weaknesses, e.g. the passivity of some party members and the inadequate monitoring of the implementation of party resolutions. Ideological-training work and work with youth still continues to be neglected. With the aid of party recommendations, every party member should be activized more than previously.

On discussing aspects of the formation of the new trade union movement, the first secretary of the Province Committee stressed that this is a major political task for the party. The speaker next specified particular tasks for party echelons and cells. Referring to the coming papal visit to Poland, the Province Committee first secretary emphasized the importance of this visit to contacts between the state and the Church.

The next speaker was Leon Brancewicz, Province Committee secretary. He dwelled on current socio-economic problems relating to the implementation of the three-year plan as linked to anti-inflation measures.

/The speaker recalled that the plan's basic goal is to feed the nation, maintain an optimal pace of housing construction, improve the supply of staple goods and protect the lowest-income groups against the consequences of the crisis./

/Secretary L. Brancewicz repeatedly stressed the need to adhere to the conservation of, particularly, raw materials and energy in industry. The entire society also should be more thrifty, because quite a few instances of prodigality, poor management and waste could be cited./

The inflationary overhang continues to grow. Of course, this overhang could be eliminated by means of radical price hikes. But it is possible--and this is the task posed by the authorities--to produce more goods for the market, and to work better, more productively and more economically. This is chiefly up to society itself.

/The Province Committee secretary Edward Kijek, referring to the ongoing programs-elections campaign within the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], discussed its role as a movement uniting all patriots in behalf of the nation and the socialist state. PRON elements must be developed chiefly at work establishments and within worker communities./

Edward Kijek next discussed the aims and tasks of the coming 12th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee. He recalled that the materials for that plenum will be consulted upon with the work forces of certain plants, including the 'Paris Commune Shipyard/. He also discussed ideological-upbringing work at enterprises.

/Following a discussion of current problems of party work, Stanislaw Rejger, first secretary of the Province Committee, again took the floor and stressed the importance of the activism of all party members and elements in overcoming our difficulties and leading the country out of the crisis./

#### Bydgoszcz Province Executive on Small-Scale Industry

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 12-13 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by (el.): "How is Small Industry Developing?" under the rubric "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee"]

[Text] Yesterday a joint session of the Executive Board [EB] of the Province Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and the Presidium of the Province Committee of the Democratic Party [SD] was held in Bydgoszcz. Its topic was an assessment of the development of small industry in the Bydgoszcz Province.

In May 1982 a similar joint session had been also held in Bydgoszcz with the object of defining the conditions indispensable to the development of small industry and the assurance of an increase in the output of consumer goods and services. Since then a marked improvement has taken place in the economic situation of the plants of the socialized small industry, along with a rapid development of the network of artisan shops. Last year, despite the quantitative (3.7-percent) decline in the industrial output of the Bydgoszcz region, the value of the output of small industry had increased 1.5 percent in comparable prices. The situation as regards consumer services is slightly behind, as the number of service centers has decreased by 126, chiefly in smaller towns and in the villages.

The plan assumptions for 1983 target a 6.3-percent increase in the sales of the products and services of socialized small industry as compared with 1982 results. The supply of consumer goods is to increase 5.5 percent and that of services, 3.6 percent. Further development of artisan trades also is expected, with the number of artisan shops increasing by at least 300.

/At yesterday's session the discussion dealt with various problems of the further development of small industry and increase in its share in the supply of consumer goods and services. The need to improve the supplies of raw and other materials for small industry and artisan trades was pointed out. This concerns both the actual distribution of central allotments and the transfer of surplus materials via the "key" [?]. Local authorities should provide more effective assistance to small industry and artisan trades in the procurement of the necessary premises. (Noteworthy is the fact that in 1982 these authorities made 35 premises available for artisan shops.) In addition, dishonest organizations striving to amass fortunes rapidly at the expense of the public should be consistently eliminated, and preference should be given to honest, thorough artisans, whose valuable economic initiative should be supported. A better-balanced geographical distribution of artisan centers should also be a goal./

Summing up the discussions, comrade Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, stressed that the resolutions of the May 1982 joint plenary session remain current and all party elements are obligated to monitor their implementation. Various comments and postulates voiced at this conference will be transmitted to the central authorities by the Province Committee.

As the second item on yesterday's agenda, comrade Henryk Bednarski informed the EB of the PZPR Province Committee on the participation of the PZPR delegation in the deliberations of the 16th Congress of the Italian Communist Party in Milan, which he had attended. Comrade Bednarski also reported on his meeting with the aktiv of the Italian Communist Party at Lodivecchio in northern Italy.

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COMMUNIQUE OF OLSZOWSKI VISIT TO ANGOLA ISSUED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Apr 83 p 7

[Article by PAP: "Polish-Angolan Communique."]

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Paulo Teixeira Jorge, a member of the Central Committee IMPLA-Labor Party, minister of Foreign Affairs of the Angolan Peoples Republic, Comrade Stefan Olszowski, a member of the Political Bureau of CC PZPR, minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Peoples Republic, paid an official visit of friendship to the Angolan Peoples Republic from 12 to 14 April 1983.

Comrade Stefan Olszowski was greeted by the chairman of MPLA-Labor Party, president of the Angolan Peoples Republic, Jose Eduardo des Santos. The minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRL conveyed to him sincere greetings from the secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Labor Party, the president of the Ministers Council of PRL, Wojciech Jaruzelski. In his name he extended anew the invitation to the president of ARL for an official visit to Poland at his convenience.

During the visit to Luanda, the minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRL placed a wreath in the mausoleum of the great leader of the Angolan revolution, comrade Antonio Agostinho Neto.

The ministers conducted discussions in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and spirit of mutual understanding. The talks related to the status and perspective in the development of relations between Poland and Angola, as well as, the complexity of problems in the international situation. These showed complete agreement in opinions on all discussed matters.

Both sides noted with satisfaciton that mutual relations in all areas are progressing favorably in accordance with the declaration of friendship and cooperation of 4 December 1978 as well as the other concluded understandings and agreements. The willingness expressed was for further developments in Polish-Angolan relationships, in the spirit of traditional solidarity and internationalism.

Acknowledging the importance of economic cooperation, the ministers underscored the significance both sides ascribe to the establishment of concrete possibilities for the realization of determinations of the fourth session of the Polish-Angolan Co-committee, which would allow for the invigoration of this cooperation.

They also emphasized the substantive importance of cultural and educational collaboration. They also recognized the appropriateness of an early accord in the program for the realization of the 1977 agreement.

Minister Stefan Olszewski provided information concerning the progress in the stabilization of the socio-political and economic life in Poland and steps taken for the further consolidation of the patriotic forces of Polish society involving the program of the Polish United Labor Party and the government of the Polish Republic. He expressed his appreciation to the MPLA-Labor Party, government and nation of Angola, for their full understanding and support for the policies of the Polish authorities.

Minister Paulo Teixeira Jorge thanked minister S. Olszowski for the information on the situation in Poland and repeated full support of the party and government of Angola for efforts of the Polish party and government in their endeavors to overcome adversities. In this context the Angolan side resolutely condemned the interference of the United States and some of its allies in NATO, in the internal affairs of Poland and stressed its position that Polish internal affairs are the exclusive domain of the Polish Peoples Republic.

Minister Paulo Teixeira Jorge informed the Polish group of the consequences of the undeclared war conducted by the racist South African regime against the ARL and other bordering countries, also on the activities serving national reconstruction and creation of a country of a peoples' democracy, in spite of the continuing occupation of a portion of Angolan territory by South African racist forces and the uninterrupted aggression of Pretoria and its puppets. In this context he expressed the approval of the Angolan Peoples Republic for the support of the Polish Peoples Republic in the struggle of the Angolan nation defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRL resolutely condemned the aggression of the racist regime and terrorists of Pretoria against the Angolan Peoples Republic and confirmed unwavering solidarity with the Angolan nation in its battle against imperialism. He emphasized the necessity of complete withdrawal of the South African soldiers from the southern part of Angola and Namibia.

Analyzing the international situation, both sides expressed anxiety over the increased aggressiveness of imperialistic forces pursuing policies of power, pressure, confrontation and interference in internal affairs of sovereignty nations, policies that deepen existing and inspire new conflicts in various regions of the world, especially in Africa, Near East and Latin America. Of particular danger is the initiation of a new cycle in nuclear armaments through the medium of American imperialism. These politics endanger international peace and safety.

One of the important assignments of the powers of peace is the strengthening of European security, because on this continent there is a huge concentration of nuclear and conventional armaments.

Both sides are determined to further cooperate in the interest of preventing a nuclear war, slowing down the arms race and reduction of armaments on the basis of equality and similarity in safeguards. In this context they emphasized the specific importance of proposals and initiatives of countries within the socialist community, in particular notably, the proposal for reaching an agreement on the mutual repudiation of the use of military force and maintenance of peace between member countries of the Warsaw Pact and the member countries of NATO.

An important role in the fight against policies of tensions, confrontations and the prevention of new critical situations is played by the nonaligned movement.

Referring to the situation in Africa, both ministers decidedly condemned the politics of the United States and other western powers having as an aim the destabilization of the conditions on this continent and the weakening of African unity. They expressed their concern about the increased nuclear potential of the South African Republic and condemned cooperation of the imperialistic nations with the Pretoria regime. This cooperation promotes continuation of the illegal occupation of Namibia and the retention of the disgraceful apartheid system.

Both sides confirmed their unequivocal support for the battle of the Namibian nation for independence, conducted under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) which is its sole actual legitimate representative. The ministers declared their countries support for the African National Congress (ANC) in their struggle against apartheid.

The ministers reject the attempt of the United States aimed at linking the problems of Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of the internationalist Cuban forces from Angola. These attempts constitute a glaring intrusion into the internal affairs of the ARL and are aimed at the delay in solving the Namibian problem. The sides declared their support for the full and immediate implementation of resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council.

Both ministers expressed their conviction that this visit and the talks which were held are contributing to the further advancement and consolidation of relations of friendship and cooperation between both countries and peoples.

The minister of Foreign Affairs of PRL expressed warm gratitude to the government of Angola for the sincere reception given him on his visit to Angola. He invited the minister of Foreign Affairs of ARL, Paulo Teixeira Jorge, to pay an official visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

# ROLE OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 4, 25 Feb 83 pp 17-20

[Article by Dr Constantin Stroe]

[Text] The documents of the recent National Conference of the party vigorously underscored the necessity for a more sustained effort to clarify various theoretical and ideological matters given the current stage of development in our society and the new problems which appear in our era. In this regard, the analyses and assessments of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the contradictions in Romanian society and in the contemporary world, as well as ways to resolve them, offer a particular principled and practical significance.

The scientific, dialectical materialist and historical analysis of the socialist social reality in our country made by the secretary general of the party--an analysis stripping away the simplistic, non-dialectical, idealistic views of socialist society according to which such a society is incompatible with the existence of contradictions, that along with the advancement of a new socialist order, the construction of society would be accomplished without difficulties, without shortcomings--revealed that, like any phenomenon or social system, the socialist order is also characterized by its own contradictions and that the evolution of the revolutionary process of constructing a new society is possible only through the struggle of opposites. The recognition and solution of the contradictions represents an essential method of perfecting leadership and social organization and of practical revolutionary action, with full knowledge of the situation. As was pointed out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the report, the "elimination of contradictions, the establishment of a most complete concordance and harmonious development of society constitute an objective necessity for firm progress in carrying out the party's program in uplifting the country to new heights of progress and civilization, in increasing the general, material and spiritual prosperity of the people and in strengthening the sovereignty and independence of Romania."

Society, like any other development process, contains its own reason for movement and evolution, in its internal contradictions, which manifest themselves in a specific way, based on the fact that, in contrast to nature--where the movement of contradictions constitutes a process which develops and

resolves itself in a spontaneous way--in society the existence and resolution of contradictions are linked to the presence and conscious activity of men, who generate all social processes and events through their own actions. Thus, in social life contradictions appear, evolve and are resolved on the basis and within the activities of men--beings endowed with will and consciousness, animated by common or differing goals. Such a complexity of social life requires within itself the existence of a great diversity of contradictions: objective-subjective; antagonistic-non-antagonistic; contradictions of a general nature which accompany society--of course in a constantly changing way--in all the stages of its development, as well as contradictions of a specific nature which characterize and individualize each social system.

Thus, each social order appears as a system, as a structural and hierarchical totality, of multiple and characteristic contradictions, beginning with those at the infrastructural level, economic structures and social and class structures and continuing with those of superstructure, social and cultural consciousness as well as between these levels of activity. The socialist social order too, with this perspective, as an objectively necessary stage in the historic process, despite its incontestible superiority compared with previous systems, also has some contradictions and it is possible that others might appear.

As a particularly dynamic order, implying profound changes in all areas of life, the socialist society develops by overcoming the different specific contradictions of every stage of development, of every domain of social reality. In understanding the type of contradiction appearing in socialism, we consider germane Lenin's idea that along with the construction of socialism, "the antagonism disappears, the contradictions remaining," in the sense that, in the period of evolution from capitalism to socialism, up to the complete elimination of the exploiting classes, there are antagonistic contradictions which are resolved through class struggle. Afterwards, certain old contradictions change form and, furthermore, new contradictions appear different from those resolved up to that time through class struggle--non-antagonistic contradictions. They show up under the conditions in which the unitary socialist economy is being built--based on socialist ownership of the means of production in which the exploitative class and the exploitation of men disappears and a new society of classes and social categories with common fundamental interests is born. It is here where superstructure and socialist consciousness and culture are formed and developed. These transformations occurring at all levels of social life bring about modifications in the network of contradictory interactions between the elements and processes of the new order. Thus, the possibility for eliminating and avoiding antagonism and for the affirmation of non-antagonistic contradictions is created.

Of course, the essential characteristic of non-antagonistic contradictions is, and remains, that they appear, develop and operate on the basis of the common fundamental interests of all the social classes and categories within society. However, this is not the only definitive characteristic. Non-antagonistic contradictions do not necessarily get sharper, deeper or more aggravated, reaching a point where they can only be resolved by conflict. As a result of the specific feature of social determinism in the new order and



of the growth of the role of the conscious, subjective factor, contradictions are resolved through the intervention of this factor. The communist party, and the socialist state--senses and uncovers these in time and initiates measures designed to bring about their peaceful solution.

The non-antagonistic character of socialism's contradictions must not, however, be understood in a rigid, metaphysical way, but in a nuanced and dialectical way, in the sense that some non-antagonistic contradictions if not identified, studied and understood in time, if they are not resolved correctly, can become antagonistic and can cause serious difficulties on the way to forging a new social order and bring about fragmentations and convulsions in the social fabric. In this context, establishing the type of antagonism and the manifestations of it has theoretical significance because it is known that in the socialist society there are classes with common fundamental interests and, as a result, the "antagonism" generated by the failure to resolve non-antagonistic contradictions in a timely fashion will not all at once, combine social forces with diametrically opposed interests. Between which parties is an antagonistic relationship established when, as a result of the disappearance of the exploiting classes, there exists a strong bond between new classes and social categories equally interested in creating the socialist order? More than this, such antagonism has special features not only because of its origins but also by its way of being manifested and resolved. The resolution of such a contradiction does not require the overthrow of the system, but on the contrary, takes place within it through its own ways and means, through the conscious activity of the masses, of all the creators of material and spiritual values and, through the methods that befit the democratic nature of the new order.

In our view the need is apparent for a new concept which will detect and describe, to the extent that it is specific and definitive, the process of transforming, in the new order, non-antagonistic contradictions in conflict situations, rejecting the term antagonism which brings to mind the contradictions peculiar to another type of society.

Our party, demonstrating beyond the shadow of a doubt that in socialism, too, there are contradictions, pointed out the fact that these are not an unnatural phenomenon, but an objective one, which has well determined causes stemming from its laws of development. Despite this, the opinion still circulates that the appearance of contradictions in conditions of socialism does not have an objective basis but results merely from mistakes in the activity of managing social processes, from subjectivism and that the degeneration of some contradictions into antagonistic ones has no connection with the reality of the socialist order. Such a simplistic, rigid view about the evolution of certain social phenomena constitutes an impediment to understanding life in all of its sometimes contradictory complexity.

On the practical level, such an attitude makes it difficult to set up a proper method for acting and for taking the most adequate measures to ensure the rapid removal of contradictions and the acceleration of socio-economic and political-cultural progress.

The dialectical approach reveals that any system is characterized by contradictions which have roots in its own nature and that these determine its movement and development. Thus, socialism, being a system with a certain dynamic, develops dialectically and is confronted with contradictions which have their origin within its very nature. Our party stressed that in the conditions of a socialist society too, contradictions have their roots in the system's structure--objective and subjective--in the manner in which harmony is achieved among the diverse domains or sub-systems it comprises. It goes without saying that in the broad process of multilateral and complex development, such as socialist social life, there is no way, that in one area or another, certain discrepancies, certain disproportions and imbalances which generate contradictions will not appear.

Thus, despite the fact that Romanian socialist society has developed at an intense pace and has reached a high level, within it there are--as was pointed out in the report of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the National Conference of the RCP--a series of imbalances which cause the appearance of contradictions, such as the contradictions between the strong development of the productive forces and the development of social relations and those of production; between some sectors of the national economy (the manufacturing industries and the energy and raw materials base, industry and agriculture); between consumption demands and existing possibilities; between the development of the productive forces and the technical base of the society and the level of socialist awareness and of the professional and technical training of the masses.

Let us take as an example the question of contradictions between the city and village, between the strong development of industry and the tendency of agriculture to lag. From the historical experience of our country, it is known that for a time these were openly antagonistic, exceptionally acute, because of the blending of bourgeois exploitation with that of landlord-feudalism. Even after the agrarian reform of 1945 and the elimination of the remnants of feudal exploitation in Romanian agriculture, these contradictions were still quite great and sometimes sharp.

With the revolutionary transformations that occurred as the result of the advancement to socialism, the contradictions between the city and the village lost their antagonistic characteristics and took on other characteristics determined by the changes that took place in the socio-economic and political life of the country. Due to the just policy of the communist party and the socialist state and especially as a result of the collectivization of agriculture, the sphere of manifestations of these contradictions was much reduced, yet they did not disappear altogether. They make their presence felt at the macrosocial level in an extremely diverse and wide range of ways. Thus, within them, contradictory aspects are brought together concerning the social structure, aspects which flow from the existence of the two fundamental classes of socialist society and from the differences between the two forms of socialist ownership on which these are based. There are a series of contradictory manifestations in trade, diverse trends regarding the prices of industrial and agricultural products which also involve some cases of speculation. Also, other contradictions have their origin in the different levels of technology and of the use of science in production, in the retention of differences in

the material and cultural standard of living and way of life, in mentalities and customs.

Due to these great complexities and the varieties in which the contradictions between the village and city are manifested, the process of resolving them will be just as complex and will be connected to a series of economic, administrative, political, juridical, cultural, scientific and other measures to develop the Romanian village and to gradually reduce the differences compared to the urban milieu. The new territorial administrative division of the country in 1968 and later improvements created the possibility for a more equitable distribution of production forces throughout the whole of the country and, at the same time, for raising the level of the socio-economic development of all localities. The law on the organization of localities calls for the restriction of the village outskirts, in order to create urban type localities having municipal facilities comparable to those of the city--civic center (school, cultural house, stores, service centers), running water, sewers, more comfortable homes, etc. Hand-in-hand with the urbanization of village life, the disappearance of differences between city and village will be accentuated and the general level of the civilization of society will become much more homogeneous.

The measures taken in this regard for a strong development and modernization of the productive forces, primarily of industry, which is to allow a growth in labor productivity and an intensive development of agriculture and the most complex mechanization and chemicalization of agricultural production as well as its modern organization, will have as a direct result, the intensification of the process of narrowing and eliminating the essential differences between agricultural and industrial work. Agricultural work will become, more and more, a variant of industrial activity. Also, the just policy of pricing, by the constant activity of the socialist state in the balance between the prices of agricultural products and those of industrial goods, provides greater incentive for agricultural producers and an improvement in the balance of trade between city and village. "It is necessary to understand," the secretary general of the party pointed out in the speech at the conclusion of the work of the National Conference of the party, "that we must ensure a strong growth in production so that the peasant-worker alliance, between village and city, will forcefully manifest itself, first of all, in the area of economic exchanges of agricultural and industrial products. Only in this way will the alliance become even more powerful and solid and will the firm progress toward a multilaterally developed socialist society, toward communism be ensured!"

The ample concern of the socialist state for raising the level of the professional-political and cultural-scientific training of the peasantry and the intense political-ideological and cultural-educational activity are aimed at forming and developing the socialist awareness of both the workers and peasants. The aim of all of these measures is to raise the living standards in the villages to a level near that of the cities; a complex process, long-term in nature and not without difficulties and obstacles inherent in social development.

In the framework of the forces of production, contradictions can appear at a given moment between the means of production, namely the technical-material base, and the training of the workforce, upsetting the existing balance in the economy between the structure and the training of the workforce and the optimum use and achievement of the technical-material base. This equilibrium can be upset either through the less than optimum use of the technical-material base or through a continuing lag in the preparation and training of the work force. The resolution and restoration of this balance requires securing a correlation in the dynamic of developing the two branches of the forces of production, which responds to the changes produced in their evolution.

In close correlation with the contradictions given above, there is also the contradiction between the development of the forces of production and the level of socialist awareness. This contradiction has as its source in the manifestation of inertia encountered in the plan for the advancement of the socialist awareness in the sense that there is a tendency on the part of its elements--thought feelings and mentalities--to keep their structure unmodified despite the changes which have taken place in the objective world, or in social existence as a particular case of this. Such an inertia of awareness is explained in the fact that new phenomena and processes are evaluated on the basis of outmoded value standards and thought patterns that are out of step with social realities.

Awareness is not a mechanical reflection, which passively accompanies social existence and the development of the forces of production. It is known that it cannot be reduced to the simple reflection of material life, experience refutes the fatalistic concepts and attitudes according to which, regardless of the level of development of the technical base of society, social awareness inevitably lags behind it, and that one must first produce the transformations in material life and then these will be reflected in social awareness. Our party has creatively developed the dialectical relationship between social existence and social awareness, showing the active role of the latter, which, in the new order, becomes a strong factor of social development. Such a scientific concept, foreign to the process of making a fetish out of the determining role of social existence, is aimed at giving impetus to the ideological and political-educative activity of continuously raising the level of social awareness and contributing to overcoming the shortcomings in this activity in relation to the general development of society, a phenomenon which, as pointed out in the documents of the National Conference, is still manifested in the present stage of development of our country.

Of course, we are not speaking of a lagging behind on the part of the social awareness, but a partial lag, in the sense that, while certain elements, aspects of social awareness tend to lag or do lag behind the pace and demands of the development of social existence, in the same way, other elements of awareness exceed the stage of development attained by the social existence. These are, for example, those programmatic elements of advanced awareness which scrutinize the future, and which are present in the Program of the party, in the special programs adopted by the Twelfth Congress and the National Conference of the party, etc.



The shortcomings are found at the level of some elements of systematized theoretical awareness--which are considered, in principle, to be social theory--which fail to adequately explain certain aspects of social reality; for example, changes which have taken place in the area of forces of production and social relations, in the appearance and structure of social classes, in the relationships between them, in the life of the state, the phenomena which occur in the world, the international contradictions and the changes in the balance of forces in the world arena, the superiority of our socialist order and so on. Likewise, we observe an imbalance between some theoretical explanations (for example, arguments on the moral and juridical levels) and the social phenomena to which these refer.

Another aspect of the lag in social awareness, in theoretical and political-educational activity, is represented by the persistence of certain obscurantist, mystical, religious and retrograde concepts as well as of certain elements of bourgeois ideology and lifestyle. The lag in social awareness is also reflected in the level of the behavioral dimension of these elements, more precisely in the level of those elements of non-systemitized (common) awareness within the social psychology (emotional conditions, attitudes, states of mind, mentalities, etc). At times, such elements are in grave imbalance with social relations and those of production. In social practice, a series of backward attitudes and mentalities remain, such as displays of social parasitism, truancy, shoddy workmanship, lack of discipline, the indifference of some toward social property or egoistical and individualistic mentalities, the spirit of self-enrichment, the use of position for personal advantage, all of which cause lags in awareness compared with the rapid development of the forces of production, of the economy and of our society.

The persistence of such phenomena is also due to the fact that frequently in educational activity, too much emphasis was put on the cognitive element to the detriment of the emotional-volitional part of awareness, believing that it was sufficient to arm man with a volume of knowledge of great diversity, ignoring the formation of civic sentiments and attitudes, and the transformation of knowledge into advanced and practical convictions and attitudes. The solution of such contradictions requires that in the political-ideological educational process, there be activity, both on the rational side as well as on the emotional side, on the sensitivity and will of men (both through theoretical and propagandistic means as well as through the intervention of public opinion) with the idea of creating and developing emotional states such as the feeling of patriotic pride, responsibility for performing fundamental duties, good behavior, honesty and so on. These require as well, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the report to the National Conference, "decisive measures to raise the level of education and professional training, to improve the professional and technical-scientific knowledge of workers, as well as to develop socialist awareness--factors of particular importance in the growth of the role of the masses in the leadership of all sectors of activity, and of all society."

In this perspective, our party has worked unceasingly on the development of the forces of production and on factors with intellectual influence to form an advanced, socialist awareness, to raise the role of this awareness as a



motivating force in the rapid progress of Romanian society. The radical change of the conditions of material life, the consistent character of the work of forging a new society in the current stage of development creates premises for the solution of these contradictions through increasing the role of socialist awareness as the principal driving force in accelerating social development.

Appreciating this particularly practical end result of socialist awareness the Twelfth Congress and the National Conference of the party laid out as the central task of the immediate future, the raising of social awareness to the level of that obtained in the work of socialist construction, the transformation, to a greater extent, of theoretical, ideological and political-educational activities into a factor which determines the continued development of the forces of production, and the perfecting of the social structure and social relations. This means, in short, transforming awareness into a powerful force for mobilizing and invigorating the creative energies of all of our people.

Of course, the experience of building the socialist society in our country also shows the existence, along with the contradictions inherent in our socio-economic development, of contradictions which come from the deficiencies of subjective factors and which can be more easily avoided, prevented or halted in their evolution. These include bureaucracy, disregard of socialist laws, violations of socialist norms, ethical principles and equity, voluntaristic and subjective manifestations and so on. Frequently, the activity of these contradictions blends with those mentioned earlier. Thus, it is necessary that the conscious and subjective factor intervene to recognize and counteract the activities of the unsettling contradictions which hinder the evolution of society. Having the mission to organize and direct all social activity, the communist party must be able to recognize in a timely fashion the contradictions that appear within society, to decisively root out all that is old and outmoded in social life, all that no longer corresponds to the new social conditions and hinders progress on the road of socialist democracy, of progress and of civilization.

A particular feature of the resolution of contradictions in socialism is the fact that it is not achieved spontaneously, by itself, but through the conscious activity of the masses, of all workers in their threefold role of owner, producer and beneficiary of the fruits of labor. **[in boldface]** In this regard, the permanent dialogue of the party and state leadership with the masses, the widescale, open debates with workers, with all citizens of the country on the multiple problems of the economic, political, social and cultural development of the country have particular importance. Our party has been concerned intensively in recent years with perfecting the democratic forms of leadership of society. In this regard, a unitary system of leadership of the country by the people was established, an economic and social democracy of a new type, which permits widescale use of the initiative, experience and creative capacity of the masses. As was pointed out by the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, what is essential now is to ensure the proper functioning of this democratic cadre and the full use of the potential which it offers. The organs of our socialist democracy--the councils of workers,

the general assemblies, the people's councils, the organs of democratic leadership on the national level--must take on a more profound content and must, act effectively as forums for responsible debate and rapid solution of problems.

The activity of the dialectical law of the struggle of opposites in socialist society is an objective phenomenon and is particularly complex. Thus, the thorough study and resolution of contradictions presupposes a wide ranging activity to continuously perfect the leadership and organization of social life in all areas. The decisions of the Twelfth Congress, the measures adopted by the National Conference, the programs established for future years, ensure the realization of these objectives, creating the necessary conditions for overcoming conflicts, for achieving complete balance between the forces of production and social relations and production relations and between the different sectors of socio-economic activity, thus promoting the development of our socialist society along the path of multilateral progress.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### DJILAS DISCUSSES YUGOSLAV SYSTEM, SOCIALIST FUTURE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 11, 14 Mar 83 pp 148, 150-153, 156, 158, 160-161

[DER SPIEGEL interview with Milovan Djilas: "Nothing Is Healthy in That System"]

[Text] [Question] Mr Djilas, you are the last survivor of the founding fathers of the Yugoslav system with which Tito in 1948 braved the Soviet predominance. The celebrated idea of the time, that workers would run the factories themselves, and citizens their communities, has it not long turned out to be impracticable?

[Answer] Indeed, it proved not very successful. The idea of wanting to be different from the Soviet system surely was not so bad. But later the idea miscarried, and what happened did too. The party seized hold of that self-administration more and more.

[Question] Because it never believed in the success of its own invention?

[Answer] Perhaps so. Let me give you some data: Up to at least 95 percent of those in the workers councils today are party members. The councils themselves have become bureaucratized; there are no political controls. That weakens the whole ideology of the system. Within the councils there are cliques around the managers, that takes away all sense for economic concerns, egoism is blossoming, and all are defending none but their own petty interests.

[Question] But doesn't that mean those mistakes are inherent in the system? Would Yugoslavia's situation be better without the workers' self-administration?

[Answer] No, that I don't believe. You can tell by the example of Poland. It had no organized self-administration. And you know what that has led to. In any case, the Yugoslav self-administration provides a minimum of anti-bureaucratic control, and somehow that has penetrated the awareness of the workers.

[Question] Do you see a way for changing that desolate condition?

[Answer] Any reform should have to come from below, from the self-administration itself, to consolidate it. The competence for economic decisions should have to be detached from the self-administration so that it can concentrate more on controlling economic processes.

[Question] So, rather trade union codetermination like in the West?

[Answer] Yugoslavia is now in a dilemma. Our economic model contains various Western elements. There is to some extent a free market, and there is competition, not much developed but still. Yet the power structures have remained Eastern in type. They hardly differ from those in other communist countries.

[Question] But now there are critics, even Yugoslavs, who say that precisely the specific system of self-administration has rendered the workers impotent. Scientists of the Marxist Institute here in Belgrade recently announced: "The workers' self-administration has atomized the workers class and made it passive and disinterested in the outcome of their labor."

[Answer] There is something to that. On the other hand, under prevailing conditions it would be an illusion to assume that there could be a self-administration in Yugoslavia that would not be dependent on the party. Nor could such a system function at all.

[Question] Let's take the Polish example. There the workers did have a self-administration, after all, after the Gdansk accords. The Solidarity trade union was wrested from the party and attracted more than 10 million members within a few weeks. It virtually was the strongest political force in the country. Such a solidarity would presumably be inconceivable in the Yugoslav system where each factory competes with every other.

[Answer] There are actually two types of self-administration. One is the solution the regime adopts, like in Yugoslavia, that is under the control of the party. The other one is spontaneous, developed by the workers themselves. Where this second type could have led, had its further development been possible, we do not know. I believe it would have become what I have in mind: the workers exercising the control over the state without their being dependent on the state party.

[Question] And that in a country where each village wants to have its own power plant and where each region and each republic is envious of the others and, at the expense of the others, cares only about its own well-being?

[Answer] The Yugoslav self-administration is not to be blamed for the egoism of the republics. On that level there is no self-administration, on the level of the republics party power rules. The cause for the bureaucratic nationalism of the republics lies in the monopoly of the professional party bureaucracy and that of the economy and of culture, closely linked with the party.

[Question] Would a Croatian worker strike for a Serbian colleague?

[Answer] No, not now. It has come to the point that the ideologies of the republic, if you will, are stronger than the class interests. You may even say this is a form of refeudalization where every republic has rights of its own and staunchly defends them. It is like under the feudal barons who received a fief from the king for services rendered that were long forgotten.

[Question] And that, you or Tito did not foresee back in 1948, with all your knowledge of Balkan history?

[Answer] No, we took an idealistic view of it.

[Question] Perhaps too naively?

[Answer] Well, perhaps naively.

[Question] One suspects this principle of "divide and rule" is something the leadership wants too. That way the most incompetent party functionaries can conveniently play the role of referees.

[Answer] No, I think Tito's idea was very simple. He thought a centralized Leninist party would always remain strong. Simply by relying on a unified ideology and uniform interests. But the party dissolved into parties of the republics, and that mainly happened after Tito's death, when the central figure was gone.

[Question] But things were bad enough, weren't they, while Tito was still alive?

[Answer] Before it did not look as chaotic as today, neither in the party nor in the self-administration. The core of the problem indeed is the party. It still only acts as if it were centralistic, but it no longer is. Hard to say whether it even has a uniform ideology left. What keeps the people on top together rather is their holding on to their power and preserving the social status of the functionaries.

[Question] Is there anything left at all to the role of ideology then?

[Answer] It still must do as a code of conduct, and as a promise over against the masses. As a rational goal and world-outlook it has had it.

[Question] Ideology as a Leninist prayer wheel?

[Answer] Something like that. Actually, the same thing is happening in Yugoslavia as in world communism. Only that the fragmentation into limited national interests is much more intricate among us. Remember, in Bosnia we now even have indications of an Islamic fundamentalism.

[Question] Would these national contrasts not be smaller without the communist superstructure?



[Answer] A democratization would be likely to improve the situation. But even party boss Ribicic recently said people were mistaken in believing that a democratization could solve all problems. And with that I agree. Democratization can only initiate the solution of problems.

[Question] And in the converse: a rigidly centralized state?

[Answer] Since the republics have moved apart, there is no return to centralism. Trends in that direction exist, to be sure, among the partisan veterans and in the party itself among nostalgic old-time communists. But such tendencies are at once branded as Serbian hegemonial aspirations in the rest of the country. I believe differences among the republics will still become sharper and the federation of Yugoslavia will move toward a political confederation.

[Question] If there is such a danger, is not Tito then himself to blame for this trend toward ungovernability, he and his legacy of installing a collective leadership that is made up, not in accordance with performance and personality, but according to territorial proportions, with short-range rotations of functions to boot?

[Answer] Through this rotation Tito meant to create a system that would make possible for talents to rise to the top and be accepted in all of Yugoslavia.

[Question] But what about having to quit again after a brief period, talent or not?

[Answer] Sure, in practice this rotation turned out to be senseless. There were people before us who got an idea like that. Medieval Venice had something like it; and there it did not function either.

But what is much worse still is that this way policy is made by anonymous institutions. That brings no political geniuses to power. A Churchill or a de Gaulle is not likely to be discovered by means of rotation.

[Question] And would there be any advantage in a strong man like Tito today in the prevailing situation?

[Answer] I need not waste any thought about that because no such personality exists, and it does not look as if one would surface so soon.

[Question] So, how are things going to go on?

[Answer] I believe there will be big difficulties and serious unrest in Yugoslavia soon. Perhaps that in view of the danger of civil war in each nation---that concerns mainly the Serbs and Croats---capable forces come to the fore seeking mutual understanding.

[Question] And if not?

[Answer] If not, we'll slide into economic chaos and toward open conflict among the nations with the risk of intervention by the superpowers.

[Question] But in the economic chaos you are already!

[Answer] Sure, yet the economic chaos has not yet turned into political conflict.

[Question] Because the party puts a tough lid on any remonstrance, however harmless.

[Answer] Among the most conspicuous differences between the republics is the political climate. In one republic, books or plays may be banned, not so in another. The many polemics among writers, journalists or artists are in essence polemics among the ruling circles in the republics. You may be surprised, but right now the climate is the most liberal here in Belgrade.

[Question] Because it is the capital of the federation?

[Answer] Not so. Though the West thinks the Serbs are the protagonists of toughness, the national situation right now demands more tolerance.

Through the separation of the two autonomous provinces Kosovo and Vojvodina, Serbia has lost influence. Now the Serbian leadership is under the pressure of its own public opinion, mainly the intellectuals, raising the uncomfortable question: How could there be these revolts in Kosovo and Vojvodina? Why didn't you watch in time?

[Question] This purported liberalism may comfort people who like to go to the theater. But that 38 years after the war Belgrade has to issue food cards again, that people have to queue up for detergents and coffee, as in Poland, that Yugoslavia owes the West alone M 55 billion and has more than one million unemployed, isn't that a declaration of bankruptcy for the whole system?

[Answer] No doubt. Nothing is healthy in this system. Nothing is in order. Schools are not what they ought to be, the universities are not worth anything. The administration does not work. I have known the political life in this country for many years. The Yugoslav monarchy prior to World War II was a poor state with a poor leadership, but as many untalented people in public life as today we did not have then.

We still will have a crisis once the West has overcome its current difficulties because what we have is a crisis of the system.

[Question] Was it then such a good idea for the West to dip so deeply into its pocket again to subsidize this system and save Yugoslavia from collapse by new credits of almost \$ 5 billion and a moratorium?

[Answer] Two points I would like to make about that. From the humanitarian standpoint, help is always positive. Secondly: If these credits had been extended under very harsh terms, I would think them justified, too.

[Question] What are those terms?

[Answer] Without reforms, without changes in the system, there is no recovery. Even 15 billion would not help. We will devour them and in a few years be back where we now are.

For goodness sake, the people at the top keep reiterating that Yugoslavia has to keep following Tito's path undeterred. That is obsolete, I tell you, and it is nonsense. That path has to be abandoned as fast as possible. Tito is a historic personality, basta. Life goes on. And furthermore, it is apparent enough that Tito himself is largely to be blamed for the system and, hence, for the current misery.

[Question] The main reason the West keeps helping Yugoslavia out of its straits is the fear a collapse could spark an intervention from the Soviet Union.

[Answer] A direct intervention would be still much more delicate for the Soviet Union than the one in Afghanistan or in Poland because Yugoslavia has much closer ties to the West. Nor is the geographical location exactly inviting to the Soviets.

[Question] But Moscow need not absolutely send tanks. There are other ways. Latest statistics indicate that nearly 50 percent of Yugoslav exports meanwhile goes to the East Bloc. Its economy is greatly subject to blackmail.

[Answer] True enough, economic relations with the Soviet Union have become much more intensive. Yet that does not mean we are running the risk of being duped by the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav system and the awareness are unequivocally anti-Soviet. Our most important technology comes from the West; even our debts are in the West.

[Question] So what happens when the West no longer keeps paying?

[Answer] Still more food cards, more unemployed, a sharper dictatorship. Uprisings probably in Slovenia and Croatia, and in Serbia as well. Perhaps Bulgaria would exploit the chaos to swipe Macedonia, and Albania might intervene in Kosovo.

[Question] Exactly. And as the Yugoslav leadership knows that the West is afraid of a dismemberment of Yugoslavia it expects the West will keep paying for sure.

[Answer] I say it again: No help, no matter how large, can consolidate our situation. Without radical changes in the system, which the current leadership is not willing or able to contemplate, there will be no improvement. Current aid means a blood transfusion but no cure.

[Question] However, not only Yugoslavia is threatened by an economic catastrophe. Poland has mountains of debts, so has Romania, and even in the big Soviet Union, heavy shortages in the planned economy and in supplies are the rule. Economic inefficiency is part and parcel of socialism. But why actually is that so? Can't the communists figure things out?

[Answer] The communist system is incapable--with one exception: in revolutionary phases. When there are chances for revolution it is worth something, afterwards it fails.

[Question] So what would be reasonable for the leaders of the revolution to do after the victory of the revolution?

[Answer] There was only one great and successful revolution in history that did not end in a dictatorship: the American. But not because the Americans are smarter than the Europeans but they enjoyed the advantage of having no rationalistic philosophers who were determined to create an ideal society.

[Question] Then what is actually left today of communism?

[Answer] Industrial feudalism.

[Question] With the Leninist claim to power.

[Answer] Yes. Precisely the Leninist principle of state power logically leads to industrial feudalism. That is putting it somewhat tersely but it comes very close to the truth.

In the same period of history the capitalist system has gone through an evolution. There is no longer imperialism, no longer colonialism, and the social problems, while not all yet resolved, have been given a basis for being solved.

[Question] Does that mean that in your view communism can no longer catch up with capitalism?

[Answer] I do not want to quarrel about which of the two systems is more progressive or reactionary. But the Western system obviously is better. Look, the West has all the East has got: social security, health insurance, everything the communists love to boast about. But the West has something more than that, and that precisely is the most important: political freedom and economic efficiency.

[Question] Why do the people in the communist power sphere 65 years after the October Revolution and almost 40 years after the end of the war still have the patience to live under that system which cannot even satisfy their simplest needs?

[Answer] A life-or-death catastrophe has not yet occurred, but developments tend in that direction. First came the industrialization phase when people, in hope, renounced everything else because they had faith in a turn to the better.

But industrialization ushered in new problems. Just look at the Soviet Union, a vast country with raw materials almost autarkic, yet nothing is better there than here.

[Question] That means the communist power sphere has new premises for revolution?

[Answer] We have surely reached the point that creates heavy social conflicts. But the premises are different, it seems to me, from what they were for the bourgeois and communist revolutions.

I believe there will be no more civil wars. We will have strikes, mass demonstrations, a total undermining of the system. One day in the far future the Red Empire will collapse, as the Ottoman Empire once did: decay, decay, decay. Kemal Ataturk also came to power without any big revolution. It would be good if it went like that. Hegel already said: all that disintegrates does so for good reason.

[Question] That would then be rather evolutionary changes.

[Answer] In some countries an evolution is not precluded, even though it presumably could happen nowhere without large unrest. Let's assume something were to change in the Soviet Union. Then the regimes in some neighboring states would collapse at once, in Poland or the CSSR for example.

[Question] One must also assume, however, that the Soviet Union would be the very last country in which something changes.

[Answer] Quite so. That something like that were to happen in the Soviet Union is indeed almost inconceivable. Already because in the Soviet Union the state bureaucracy rules. It is that which dominates the party.

[Question] It would probably be more realistic to ask how long the Soviet Union still can suppress the growing resistance of the East Europeans against the Russian hegemony and the Soviet model of communism.

[Answer] One has to think in terms of decades, I believe, provided there is not another war.

[Question] Is that to mean that in your view the Ottoman Empire of the Soviets will take 2,000 years to disintegrate--not much of a comfort for the East Europeans?

[Answer] One does have to figure on 100 or 200 years.

[Question] Which forces in society will then altogether start the changes that go beyond cosmetic reforms?

[Answer] New ideas, the intellectuals and the workers class.

[Question] You anticipate an alliance between the intellectuals and the workers?

[Answer] Yes, I believe the example of Poland can be very instructive there.

[Question] Aren't you having illusions? In Poland, Solidarity has been liquidated, the intellectual instigators are in prison, the church calls for a reason of state, and the generals are in power.



[Answer] In terms of a long-range view I am surely not harboring any illusions. In 2 years or 3, say, there could be another explosion. In Poland, the people in depth started to move and question the system as such. On the long run that movement cannot be stopped. For the CSSR or Hungary I cannot imagine it.

[Question] Does in your scenario of changes at a snail's pace the West play any role at all? Can it do something to speed up the changes in communism or should it rather see to it that the tempo remains slow?

[Answer] The most important job the West has is to halt Soviet expansion.

[Question] By what means?

[Answer] It is exceedingly important to assume a firm ideological position against communism. By that I do not mean evading political conflict within its own system. I also hope the West will not again resort to its arsenal of cold war.

But what matters is to be steadfast on a high level, I would almost call it a scientific level. That would be an effective manifestation of strength. Strength is important.

[Question] You know there are two schools of thought in the West. The one recommends causing the Soviet Union more and more economic difficulties by beating it in the armaments game, and only then it would be ready for concessions. The other school contends the opposite: only if the Soviet Union through help from the West can consolidate its power it could afford a liberalization of the system. Which of these two views is closer to your own?

[Answer] There is something correct in either of them. I have my own view but am raising no claim to a third school of thought.

This is what I, briefly, mean: The West has to be strong and ready to negotiate, should trade with the Soviet Union, but with reservations. It should sell no products that would reinforce Moscow's military power. It should offer the Soviet Union greater chances for its own trade if it in turn will forget about its expansionist drive. In sum, I represent a rational mix between the two Western schools of thought.

[Question] Has the power change from Brezhnev to Andropov made any change to the chance for reforms?

[Answer] Andropov can be no reformer at all. Mainly because he is running a closed system, bureaucratically encrusted, narrow-minded and prepotent, without ideas of his own. Andropov would have to create a one-man dictatorship.

For all that, he could at best bring on organizational changes. And he has done so already by distributing, for instance, the competencies of the agricultural ministry among local organs. He is taking steps against heavy drinkers and loafers and is more flexible and intelligent than his predecessor in foreign policy. But you can't detect any big political line. An old man he is, simply too old still to develop new ideas.

[Question] Mr Djilas, in an article entitled, "The World in 1984," which you wrote for the NEW YORK TIMES 14 years ago, you predicted that not only in 1984 but even after 2000 communism would continue to exist. It would, possibly in a modified form, survive all ages because it is part of the cultural life of Europe. What did you have in mind: the idea or the system of communism?

[Answer] The idea. The communist system of today is going to perish, all these Jaruzelskis, Ceaurescus, the Yugoslav bureaucrats . . .

[Question] How come you mention no Yugoslav by name?

[Answer] Which? Who is there? Well, all this has to disappear. The communist idea will survive. It has evolved from Western culture, from Judaism, Christianity, the medieval sects, the utopian philosophies. From all that, Marx developed a scientific methodology, but the idea has not changed.

In carrying the thought a bit further, I even believe it is basic to human nature, at least to the nature of most people, this utopian dream of freedom, equality and fraternity. That is why the idea will supply new impulses after today's communist system has died off.

[Question] In other words: The idea is too beautiful to allow the communists to corrupt it by its practical implementation?

[Answer] That is correct. That was already proven by the French Revolution which anticipated organized communism.

[Question] That would then mean you think of communism as a mental utopia and not as an action guideline?

[Answer] In substance, communism is a religious idea.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation, Mr Djilas.

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SERBIA'S CKREBIC INTERVIEWED ON DIFFERENCES IN PARTY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1684, 10 Apr 83  
pp 14-18

[Interview with Dusan Ckrebic, engineer, chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, by NIN staff in Belgrade: "The Party Cannot Do It Alone"; date not specified] .

[Text] Dusan Ckrebic, engineer, chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, visited NIN's editorial offices a few days ago and in a long conversation with the newsmen of our magazine answered many questions about the situation in society today.

[Question] What are the things you have learned and your experiences concerning the activity of the League of Communists at this point?

[Answer] I would immediately emphasize that the Serbian LC has since last fall discernibly stepped up its activity in many directions and on the many matters to which congresses have pointed. As is well known, nearly all the most urgent ideological and political issues in our society and in the League of Communists--from the economic and political problems in our republic and in the country to those in the domain of the news media and culture--have been on the agenda of the central committee, its presidium and more widely in the Serbian LC. We have also devoted a special meeting of the central committee to an analysis of the political-ideological and action capability of the League of Communists for activity under present conditions, with special emphasis on strengthening the place and role of the basic organization of the LC in that.

The organs of the LC in the autonomous provinces and in the other republics, as well as the organs of the LCY, especially the LCY Central Committee and its presidium, have, of course, been involved in these and other urgent matters.

I would say, then, that the League of Communists has already entered a more offensive ideological and political action, and that in practically all domains of social and political life. Today there is in the League of Communists an altogether definite awareness that these urgent developments in our society necessitate that kind of activity of the League of Communists in every milieu. Obviously, the rather complicated and difficult economic situation in

which we find ourselves today puts even greater emphasis on the historical responsibility which the League of Communists has for the direction of social developments and changes in our country. I think that the further development and strengthening of that sense of responsibility in party members and indeed in all socialist forces of our country is one of the most essential tasks, since this is an indispensable condition for their greater involvement as well.

[Question] Does this mean that behavior is changing within the League of Communists?

[Answer] Our overall behavior in the League of Communists and in society has begun to change. I must say, however, that the activity of the League of Communists is still not nearly up to the measure of the very complicated and contradictory conditions we confront today. It has not taken root with equal strength and breadth in all places and activities in society--in the economy, in the social services, in the administration, and so on. There are still many general appeals for action, but there is not enough of the true, united and effective communist action which changes the basic relations in society and which powerfully mobilizes all the socialist forces toward overcoming more quickly the present situation and toward greater militance for progressive developments.

I am above all mindful that the economic situation is very problematical and that there are many difficulties today which we did not confront in earlier times. Also the development of democratic relations, that is, the development of our political system, necessitates more than before not only greater involvement, but also a new mode of activity of the League of Communists and the other socialist forces. And that is not easy to achieve. We do not have any sort of blueprints, we have no models whatsoever, we must seek solutions for all this ourselves.

#### We Are Not a Homogeneous Society

[Question] Do there exist among party members, in the leadership, as well as in the rank and file, differences in views of events in society?

[Answer] I would say that there are such differences, they are discernible, and in the League of Communists, as is well known, no one disputes this. But differences in essential strategic commitments of the struggle of the LC in society are one thing, and differences on specific matters and solutions toward implementing the fundamental commitments are something else; moreover, in the case of the latter I am thinking above all of differences that necessarily must arise and do arise in the currents of the democratic method of decision-making both in society as well as within the League of Communists.

I think that anyone who wants to examine with any seriousness the nature of the differences which are cropping up in the League of Communists and which, as I said, are not concealed, can very easily detect that there is unity in the League of Communists in all the fundamental commitments of the LCY Program and congress decisions on the socialist and self-management direction of our society's development and on the place and role of the League of Communists and the other organized socialist forces in that development.

The differences, then, which exist in views of events in society are of quite a different nature and character. As I have already said, they are altogether natural in the processes of the democratic decisionmaking which we are developing. Those differences are certainly present, and they probably bear opposite signs. They arise from the fact that we are not a homogeneous society, that we are a multinational country, and that we find ourselves at different levels of development. I think those differences should not disturb us, nor should we be discouraged that such differences exist.

[Question] How are those differences manifested, and how are they being overcome?

[Answer] They are manifested in various ways. In the economy they are manifested in that the effort to reach agreement takes a very long time, in that there are different views of specific issues in current economic and indeed even development policy. I think that we will continue to live with certain differences of this kind, but we must equip ourselves so that in what I might call the civilized and democratic way, in a democratic dialogue, as well also steadily develop our "ear" for the arguments and interests of others, we do reach agreement and overcome those differences.

Of course, I do not mean to say that every difference in the views of party members, their organizations, and leadership bodies can be "objectified" and thereby justified. In particular those differences cannot be accepted which are obviously more an expression of group-ownership relations or certain other aspirations in certain places, which are striving to realize partial and narrow interests under the guise of general social needs and interests. The League of Communists must equip itself to recognize such aspirations more quickly and it must resolutely oppose every attempt on their part to impose themselves in the processes of decisionmaking.

I think, then, however understandable and natural certain differences might be in views of events in society, which we have been discussing, within the League of Communists we must continuously overcome them by developing internal party democracy on the principles of democratic centralism that have been adopted, and that means not only equalizing views in arriving at decisions and conclusions within the LC, but also achieving unity in action in carrying them out. The essential thing here is to bear in mind that throughout this entire process the unification of views and achievement of the LC's unity in action is always done from the standpoint of the direct and long-term interests of the working class rather than from the vantage point of partial interests which sometimes may be dominant even in certain organizations of the League of Communists.

#### The League of Communists Cannot Do It Alone

[Question] On one occasion you have said that "there is a danger that the League of Communists will little by little take everything in its own hands." In view of the present situation in the LC, how realistic actually is that danger?



[Answer] That danger does exist, but I would immediately emphasize that I do not feel that it is the greatest danger to the League of Communists and to our society. I am thinking here precisely of the overall situation in the League of Communists today, which does not offer any great opportunities for such tendencies to win out. But such a danger nevertheless does exist. We have felt this especially when we fell into major economic, and thereby also certain political, difficulties.

As you know, we confronted very pronounced demands in our society to the effect, above all, that the League of Communists should in all places operate more effectively in overcoming the present situation and in conceptualizing, stimulating and guiding our future socialist and self-management development, such demands, which we hear even today, are not being put by party members alone, but also by the huge majority of our working people and citizens. I think there is no dispute about that.

However, I am not certain that that demand always represents what it ought to imply in the sense of the place and role which the League of Communists has in our system of socialist self-management, which we have defined very clearly. Some people see the "effectiveness" of the activity of the League of Communists in its "taking" things into its own hands, feeling that in this way the present situation, especially the socioeconomic situation, will be overcome more quickly.

It should be frankly stated that this advocacy is finding its point of support not only in the undoubted confidence which people have in the League of Communists, but also in the present shortcomings in the functioning of our political system and in the activity of the League of Communists and the other organized socialist forces within it.

We also confront cases where certain basic organizations or organs of the LC undertake to resolve urgent problems as though they were extraordinary command posts, as a replacement of the bodies of self-management and other institutions of the system. In some organizations and organs of the LC resolutions are adopted which simply represent a list of obligations of self-management and political bodies, organizations and communities or, to go to the other extreme, they are so vague and declarative that they do not commit or encourage members of the League of Communists to undertake any action whatsoever.

Should it go on this way in the future, given the situation we have, there truly is a real danger that the League of Communists, above all its leadership bodies, under pressure of various demands, might spontaneously, even perceptibly, take everything into its own hands. We must be aware of that. That, of course, would not be a good thing. We must take the road which the League of Communists has determinedly and clearly committed itself to. And that means that we must make constant effort so that the League of Communists acts more as an internal driving force of our political system and self-management relations, so that party members, basic organizations and organs of the LC place the focus of their activity and the main front of the struggle which they lead and wage--together with the workers, the working people and citizens--within their bodies of self-management, delegate bodies and other institutions and

forms of social organization and concerning the issues and tasks which arise in work and everyday life. This kind of orientation is slow to be adopted, and we cannot be satisfied with the breadth and depth of these processes.

Consequently: the League of Communists--yes, but not by any means alone.

[Question] Recently several mutual visits and talks have been recorded of party delegations of the republics and provinces. Talks have been conducted with the delegation of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vojvodina.... Usually only protocolar information is released concerning them. Why is the public inadequately informed about the topics, content and conclusions reached in those talks?

[Answer] There have been several such talks: in Novi Sad and Dobanovci; Ljubicic and I went to Skopje; we went as a larger delegation to Croatia; a larger delegation of comrades from Bosnia-Hercegovina visited us. Soon we will be receiving the comrades from Slovenia, and we are to go to Montenegro. Yet these are not any forms of "pure" party cooperation. It is mainly a question of meetings of representatives of the organs and organizations of the republics, that is, both of the League of Communists and also of the presidencies of the republics, of the assemblies, the executive bodies, economic chambers and other sociopolitical organizations. I must say that I am one of those who attributes due importance to talks like these. On many occasions these talks have served us to present views with supporting arguments even on certain specific matters which are not only of joint interest, but indeed of general interest, and to exchange opinions on directions of our further involvement in resolving them. There are many things, which is, of course, to be expected, which we cannot fully discuss exclusively in talks at the Yugoslav level. Some matters must be discussed even in direct contacts, since that is their nature.

#### Relations Between the Republic and the Provinces

I do not mean to say that it is enough just for leadership groups to meet, though at times that is very worthwhile. I am thinking above all of broader mutual exchange of information on activity and problems confronted by the League of Communists in various places, of an exchange of opinions on various aspects and problems of our development and about how to proceed in solving them. Here the rule also applies, if not even more, that the better we get to know one another, the more easily we will understand each other and the more quickly we will arrive at unity in our views and in our action.

There are also differing opinions concerning these meetings of ours. To be frank, I am bothered in these meetings, nor am I alone, by the fact that to a certain extent they are still burdened with a protocolar content, that they are given the overtones as though they represented some kind of intergovernmental cooperation within Yugoslavia. I think that in future we should eliminate everything that could accentuate that kind of overtone.

It is also in that context that one should understand the attitude toward the question of informing the public about the topics and content of talks during

these meetings. I personally think that because of the very nature and purport of such meetings and the forms of cooperation that the method of informing the public must be appropriate to that.

[Question] How in your opinion are the resolutions of the 17th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee being carried out? How is the work of the LC in the republic and in the provinces being coordinated?

[Answer] Their implementation is under way, and in my opinion is taking the desired direction, though it is going somewhat more slowly than we envisaged. I would not want to exaggerate the results to date. After all, some things we certainly have taken forward, but on certain matters we have remained exactly where we were immediately after the 17th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee. A more complete analysis of this is to be made this year, and it will be made known to the central committee. I would emphasize that in the Commission for Constitutional Matters of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia a complete analysis has been made through a joint effort concerning achievement of consensus and the constitutional status of SR Serbia in performance of its functions.

An atmosphere is being created that is constructive for mutual agreement, for more frequent and I would say everyday contacts and for carrying out what has been agreed upon. Changes are being made above all in a strengthening of awareness and responsibility for joint implementation of decisions made and views adopted. Our mutual relations are also better, and our collaboration more constructive.

In the sphere of legislation constructive changes are also being made, above all in finding better-quality solutions and in arriving at them more quickly. In this area we still must speed up the joint effort and overcome certain issues that are still outstanding in the planning field. We have overcome certain disagreements related to certain laws that have a bearing on the functioning of the republic: for example, the Law on National Defense, the Law on Internal Affairs. The Law on the Social Plan is now under discussion. It is well known that SR Serbia is the only republic which lacks a law on the social plan. I would say that here again a few steps have been taken in the right direction, the overall options have been agreed on, and now these laws are entering into the parliamentary procedure. We all of us still face large obligations and responsibilities so that no new lack of trust in all this precipitates out. We must learn from our previous errors.

As for relations within the Serbian LC, I think that it is here that the most evident changes have actually been made. First of all, a far greater level of joint activity and cooperation and mutual information of the entire Serbian LC has been achieved concerning the activities being carried on. The preparations of the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee are as a rule the result of activity throughout the entire Serbian LC. And in carrying out the conclusions adopted by the Serbian LC Central Committee there have been constructive changes. Conditions have been created in which members of the Serbian LC Central Committee are becoming involved in political activity within opstina organizations over the entire area of the republic. Members of the

Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee are also participating in the work of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Conference and Kosovo LC Provincial Conference.

There lies ahead of us, however, important activity to affirm the constructive experiences still more broadly. I especially want to emphasize the need for our joint activities in the domain of pooling labor and capital, for fuller cooperation of associated labor on the principles of concluding compacts and accords, the principles of establishing ties in these regions and more widely in Yugoslavia. It would be good if in this broad area we could also take advantage of the maximum constitutional opportunities available to us.

#### Every Nationalism Is Antisocialist

[Question] Why is it that basic organizations of the LC are inert, sluggish and fearful?

[Answer] The Serbian LC Central Committee discussed in its 6th meeting the ideological and action capability of the basic organizations of the Serbian LC. Within that discussion there was a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the causes of shortcomings in the work of basic organizations of the LC and to some extent in the organs of the LC as well, and the immediate tasks were set forth as to overcoming them in each place.

The League of Communists, and incidentally this also applies to other sociopolitical organizations, is not and cannot be an organization of forums, however important they might be in devising and carrying out the policy of the LCY. Passivity, immobility, exclusiveness, etc., are manifestations of the basic organizations, they are as much the cause as the consequence of the rather widespread phenomena of the forum method of operation within the League of Communists, the manifestation of underestimation of the role of the basic organization of the LC, that is, its treatment as an object of policy and a mere operative to carry out decisions; one-way communications, accompanied at the same time by evasion of the basic organizations of the LC when decisions are made on the essential questions of party policy, and so on. In some places it is rather the customary thing for organs of the LC, especially in the opstina, when they are preparing their own important decisions, to be lax in providing for advanced democratic discussion among the membership and basic organizations, using various forms of action and joint activity for that purpose.

We must wage a resolute fight against such manifestations both within the basic organizations of the LC and also in the forums. Otherwise there is a real danger that the forums will do the work, and the basic organizations of the LC will be passive, which is probably the first step toward weakening the effective role and strength of the LC, its ideological and political unity. That is in turn the basis for a strengthening of bureaucratic tendencies in the work of the League of Communists. I think that at this point we must first of all orient the rank and file, encourage and use that enormous force, knowledge, ideas and initiative which potentially exist in the League of Communists. First of all, opstinas committees must concern themselves with the issues being debated in basic organizations. The basic organizations must obtain



assurance that those discussions which they are conducting are not just internal tales being spun between them, but that their resolutions and views will reach the organs of the LC, that they have an influence on individuals and on the conduct of policy. That must be the point of departure. Then we will probably have an altogether different situation in the relations between basic organizations of the LC and its forums, since unquestionably the critical awareness of themselves and of their basic organizations will reach further than they do themselves--to all forums.

[Question] What is more dangerous today--covert unitarianism or outright separatism?

[Answer] For a multinational country like ours, I think that both are dangerous. Both unitarianism, as a concept for socialist Yugoslavia that is opposed to self-management, and separatism, which is a negation of the unity and integrity of socialist Yugoslavia. Accordingly, both represent entirely the same danger.

Actually every division of nationalism into dangerous, less dangerous or well-intentioned is profoundly mistaken.

The entire historical course of the genesis and development of Socialist Federal Yugoslavia indicates precisely the reverse.

Every nationalism is destructive and dangerous and essentially has a destructive effect on our cohesion and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. The counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo impressively demonstrated to us that nationalism is dangerous even within an ethnic minority in Yugoslavia, much less within a nationality. We must be mindful of this, especially today, when nationalism in our country is obviously on the rise, it exists in all quarters.

[Question] What kind of nationalism?

[Answer] Of course, in Serbia it is above all Serbian nationalism which we in Serbia must speak about and oppose. We dare not, and no one even has the right, to let it pass, even though it is a fact that the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo have to a certain extent encouraged certain forms of manifestation of Serbian nationalism. But that does not justify in the least its existence today, since there is not a single reason for that kind of irrational attitude, above all toward one's own nationality. It must never be forgotten that the social contact of every one of our nationalisms is antisocialist and antiself-management.

The Serbian nationality enjoys full equality in this Yugoslavia and is not threatened by anything, excepting, of course, by irredentist and nationalistic pressure on the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, which is still present and where mutual confidence has not yet been restored.

There is not a single reason, then, for developing and displaying any particular concern about the Serbian nationality and its status in the SFRY. Its status is altogether equal, and that is the key issue.



Before the war the Serbian bourgeoisie did oppress others, but that was not done by the Serbian people. The Serbian working class equally suffered from that same Serbian bourgeoisie. And second, in the old Yugoslavia there did not exist merely the Serbian bourgeoisie, but there was also the Croatian bourgeoisie, and the Slovene and Muslim, and as a practical matter they all had the same attitude toward the working class and were usually firmly allied with one another. We have no complex whatsoever about the historical guilt solely because we were and are now the most numerous nationality, and bear no onus because of what was done by the Serbian bourgeoisie. Serbian communists, together with communists of other nationalities and ethnic minorities, serve time in the prisons of the old Yugoslavia in waging a struggle against the bourgeois regime. Incidentally, it was not by accident that Tito set aside 7 July, commencement of the uprising in Serbia, as a great event for the National Liberation Struggle, the day when in actuality the Serbian people, led by the communists, rose up against their own bourgeoisie, which was collaborating with the occupier, and at the same time rose up in a struggle against the occupier and by its acts gave encouragement to other nationalities and ethnic minorities. This was a great thing for development of the uprising throughout the country.

It is a new phenomenon that nationalism is now occurring a bit more among young people. However, this should be rightly evaluated, and we should see its real sources and manifestations. It should be neither minimized, nor exaggerated.

#### Nationalism Among Young People

[Question] Is this nationalism or some other kind of rebellion?

[Answer] Probably it does contain certain types of rebellion, but all of this in this situation of ours enters into a nationalistic context and becomes tied up with nationalism. We therefore must be conscious and seek the best ways of combating those manifestations both among young people and in society at large.

I would emphasize the importance of the role which aside from the family is to be played by the schools and teachers in bringing up and educating our young people in the spirit of socialist community and equality of our nationalities and ethnic minorities. We confront many shortcomings of the schools as organizations providing this kind of upbringing. Certainly those shortcomings are the consequence both of the social position of our education and also because of objective oversights on the part of teaching personnel. The social and material position of educationists and of educational institutions, especially the secondary schools in our society, is less than what it should be, and over a lengthy period it has indeed been even neglected. This has brought us into a situation where in a sizable portion of the educational process there prevails inadequate motivation to make a more serious effort to bring up the young generation. Many teachers, confronted with their material, family and other problems, are not fully enough committed to the rearing of young people. Their work has not been sufficiently acknowledged either in material terms or in social recognition.

These issues must be resolved more quickly. After all, our entire system of education and the personnel in the system--from teachers to university professors--represent a huge, but as yet inadequately utilized--potential for socialist upbringing and education.

[Question] The political discussion of ideological developments in society in general, especially in the domain of culture and the public written word, journalism and newsgathering, reached the culminating point toward the end of this winter.

You yourself participated in those discussions. What in your opinion are the most important benefits that have come from that, and do you expect a higher degree of commitment on the part of tens of journalists, or on the other hand, do you expect that the newsmen will withdraw into more comfortable areas of journalism, without a critical and analytical spirit?

[Answer] The critical debates and activities which we have conducted in the Serbian LC concerning political-ideological issues in newsgathering were aimed at creating the prerequisites for a decisive break with the numerous adverse tendencies in this area and at more intensive activity on the part of party members both within the media and also more broadly in society. We have brought this discussion to an end, as is well known, by setting forth very precise and concrete tasks for party members within the media, on publishing councils and councils drawing up cultural programs, in the Socialist Alliance, emphasizing the full responsibility of all leadership bodies of the League of Communists for their realization.

The key question in the entire activity of the League of Communists in this sphere is, then, to set the League of Communists in motion in editorial offices, in magazines, newspapers and other news media, so that they, in addition to certain matters of everyday existence they confront in their work, concern themselves more with this other, political-ideological, aspect of their main job--with their editorial policy.

#### We Are All Being Put to the Test

Those discussions which have been conducted in the news media were necessary and halted a negative trend which in time had gained momentum and who knows where it might have gone. This way the League of Communists has helped everyone, most of all newsmen who are party members in the news media, to reflect on this basic job they have, and it has motivated them to seek a way out.

So I do not expect the newsmen to become passive. On the contrary, I think it is time for a higher level of commitment of journalists. There is no reason why newsmen should withdraw into the more comfortable areas of journalism, since there is no need either, I would say, for a policy to be applauded. No one is calling upon the newsmen to be apologists of a current policy.

Any retreat into professional shelters in journalism would not be a good thing. The critical and analytical spirit must be developed further. The true analytical and critical spirit have not indeed been the target of this criticism.

We are now being put to the test--both newsmen and politicians and also people working in the economy, and so on. We have all been exposed to public and open criticism, and we must be aware of that.

But it seems that we have not yet become accustomed to accept this criticism, since somehow we have identified ourselves with some job that we do and have become too sensitive. Today a man who bears a certain public responsibility must develop his own ear for criticism, for dialogue, for checking out one's own convictions, for being in direct contact with the working people, for heeding reactions and for building up a sense of one's own responsibility. Self-confident movements through social practice do not always lead to the goal, but often lead astray.

[Question] Recently it has become the prevailing opinion that the flow of information among the republics and provinces is decreasing more and more.

[Answer] I don't know that that flow has fallen off, though perhaps you might perceive it that way. We have to endeavor to reverse that, we have to endeavor, at least as far as we are concerned in SR Serbia, to be open, to be concerned with ourselves, to be concerned in a definite way with others as well, but it impart to all this a high degree of professionalism and responsibility. After all, every community is sensitive. However, when the right things are said and backed up with arguments, regardless of how unpleasant they may be, they cannot be omitted. We have to have an ear for other communities as well. Perhaps that is a greater obligation, but for our part we ought to contribute so that the interrepublic flow of information is as large as possible.

[Question] Finally, one more question. What are the issues which the League of Communists must today and in the future be more concerned with?

[Answer] What I think the League of Communists has not been sufficiently concerned with are the vital problems of the worker, his needs, the realization of his constitutional rights.

The League of Communists, then, must turn to a far greater degree toward the key existential issues of the working class, to the disposition of income by the workers and to social reproduction as a whole, to the living and working conditions of the workers and their families.

I would say that our concern with these issues has not been sufficient, that things are as they should be in principle, but that that is not exactly the case in practice and in everyday life.

Today it can be confidently asserted about private farmers in Yugoslavia that they live very well if they do good work, while that cannot be said with such confidence about the industrial worker, whose existence depends solely on his earnings in a factory.

The League of Communists must be prompt to detect and to verify the extent to which it is satisfying the interests of the working class through its policy

and to be mindful that certain other preoccupations do not divert it from this basic course.

We are too concerned today with happenings in other strata of society and not enough with the problems in the purely worker milieu, from self-management, productivity, all the way to wages, housing and other forms of the standard of living.

Orienting the League of Communists toward these issues is a matter not only of political wisdom, but is indeed a profound need at the present time.

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CS0: 2800/263

ISLAMIC ORGANIZATION CONDEMNS MISUSE OF RELIGION

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 83 p 6

[Text] The Presidency of the Association of Islamic Religious Officers held a meeting on 10 April 1983 which was also attended by the presidents of committees of the Association of Islamic Religious Officers in SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The reis-ul-ulem hadji-Naim ef. Hadziabdic, supreme head of the Islamic Community in the SFRY, and Dr Ahmed ef. Smajlovic, president of the Council of Elders of the Islamic Community in SR B-H, Croatia and Slovenia, attended the meeting of members of the association and took part in its proceedings.

Muhamed Besic, member of the Presidium of the B-H Republic Conference of the SAWP, attended the meeting on behalf of the B-H Republic Conference of the SAWP.

In opening the meeting Mustafa ef. Nurikic, chairman of the association's presidium, emphasized the need for holding a meeting of this kind and stressed that in view of the unacceptable statements made by certain members of the association, the Association of Islamic Religious Officers, acting on the programmatic foundations of the SAWP and on the basis of the bylaws of the Association of Islamic Religious Officers, should sharply condemn every form of clericalism and clericalism regardless of who is the originator, and especially in its own ranks.

In a paper entitled "The Place and Role of the Association of Religious Officers and the Outlines of Its Activity," delivered by Ferhat ef. Seta, secretary of the presidium of the association, emphasized that religious officers, as citizens within organizations of the Socialist Alliance and other forms of direct self-management sociopolitical organization, do raise issues and offer initiatives and proposals for resolving them, exercising in that way their own rights and duties in self-management as citizens in conformity with the constitution and law. It is significant that the association, and indeed most of its members, are more and more realizing that social issues can and should be discussed on an equal footing in social forms of organization, that is, in the Socialist Alliance, and not in the religious communities concerned with religious affairs and religious services.



However, it was emphasized in the paper that in spite of this kind of generally constructive orientation in the activity of the association, there is a tendency for individuals to turn a deaf ear to the association's bylaws, to arbitrarily ignore and deprecate the role and importance of the association as an integral part of the SAWP.

It was emphasized that by its function the association is required to exert an influence through its activity, primarily among the membership, to prevent conditions that result in an unacceptable behavior of individuals from the position of clericalism and clericalism.

The observation that religion is "threatened" in our country, said Ibrahim Halilovic, president of the association's committee in Banjaluka, which is being made by certain religious officers, is essentially politicizing in nature, since it represents a conscious meddling and violation of the principles set forth in law concerning this field. "We have an abundance of both civil and religious freedoms, and abuse of religion by individuals truly amazes me. Such individuals should be harshly condemned and frankly told that they have no place among us, since such people cannot be either true believers or honorable citizens. I emphasize this," Halilovic added, "because individuals operating from positions unacceptable to this society are coming into the most direct conflict with the provisions of the shariat and religious standards of behavior."

"I am active in all bodies of the local community," said Besim Seper, imam in Bosanska Gradiska. "I am a reserve officer, and because of my activity in the Red Cross I have received a medal, and this does not bother me at all as an imam. On the contrary, I have donated blood more than 50 times and not even in my sleep have I thought about whom that blood might save and whom it would help, since I am convinced in this way I am conscientiously discharging both my civil and my religious duty. We should speak more often to certain individuals about Jasenovac, Kozara, Kragujevac, the Neretva, Sutjeska, Vrace and other places where our community was created and on which those freedoms were born which today we all of us together enjoy."

The participants in the meeting expressed readiness as members of the leadership organization and as officers of the Islamic Religious Community to commit themselves resolutely to performance of their programmatic tasks as set forth in the bylaws of the association and to stand in the way of attempts by individuals to abuse religion, above all within their own ranks.

7045

CSO: 2800/260

B-H LC OFFICIAL DISCUSSES RELIGION, NATIONALISM, YOUTH

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview with Dr Ivan Cvitkovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the B-H LC Central Committee and docent in the School of Political Sciences at Sarajevo University, by Zoran O. Milanovic; date and place not specified; the interview was originally published in NASI DANI, newspaper of the B-H Socialist Youth League]

[Text] An interview with Dr Ivan Cvitkovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the B-H LC Central Committee and docent in the School of Political Sciences at Sarajevo University, who is incidentally the author of a number of studies and scholarly writings in the field [of religion], was published in the last issue of NASI DANI, the newspaper of the B-H Socialist Youth League. The interview with Dr Cvitkovic was conducted by Zoran O. Milanovic. We are reprinting this interview in its entirety.

The Growth of Anticommunism

[Question] Back in 1972 Dr Srdjan Vrcan wrote in NASE TEME: "Today the general climate is really much more favorable for breaking down the efforts of reactionary circles in the church and around the church which still take the view which the Council has rejected--that religion itself and piety demand an antisocialist, implacably anticommunist, and indeed even anti-Yugoslav political commitment." Isn't this statement of Vrcan's, made 11 years ago, in collision with the time in which we live in view of all the events which have recently taken place?

[Answer] As for the strengthening of anticommunism within the religious communities, there simply seems to be a regular pattern here. To be sure, anticommunism is not manifesting itself today in the form in which it manifested itself in the second half of the thirties, nor in the form in which it manifested itself during the National Liberation War. Perhaps it is not even so militant as it was in certain religious communities after World War II, and all the way up to the end of the fifties. We had a period after the Second Council, as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, when it appeared that anticommunism had been rejected, and there was a tendency to establish a dialogue with communists. Certain attempts to modernize our own Catholic Church were even noted in that direction. Today we might say that anticommunism is

on the rise in all three traditional religious communities. We might examine this in the context of an overall strengthening of anticommunism in the world, while on the other hand an attempt is being felt on the part of a segment of the militant clergy to take advantage of the present moment, with its economic and other difficulties, to strengthen their influence among the working class and among those segments of society in which a crisis has occurred in traditional religion and piety.

#### Differing Interpretations

[Question] Recently it has been mentioned in the press of the Islamic community that the Koran is actually the theoretical platform of socialism. There are even authors who assert the opposite--that Christianity, especially the original Christianity, is a foundation for socialism. What do you think about this?

[Answer] You recall that Marx--in speaking about the social doctrine of Christianity--says that the social principles of Christianity were used to justify feudalism, those same social principles were used to justify capitalism, and it would not be any wonder if one day those same social principles of Christianity were also used to defend socialism and the working class movement. Marx's point was to point to the "universality" of Christianity's social principles, and the same might also be said of the social principles of Islam, which can be interpreted to the advantage of socialism or against it, as well as to the advantage of communism and against it. Religion, then, in and of itself, when its social and political doctrine is looked at, is not clearly committed for or against socialism. It is a question of the proponents of the idea and how they interpret it. During the war we had priests who said that communism was aimed against religion and on that basis developed anticommunism, while on the other hand we also had priests who wore the red star on their caps and carried a rifle and whom Tito in 1942 appointed to be religious counselors in the National Liberation Detachment. You see, although it is the same religion, we are dealing with two completely differing interpretations of it. Today what we provisionally refer to as the leftist oriented Christian theologians would like to offer a Christian version of socialism according to which it would be built not on the principles of Marxism, but on the principles of the Bible. On the other hand we have a penetration from certain Islamic countries of a view which offers the conception of Islamic socialism in which Marxism is once again negated as the ideological and theoretical concept for the development of socialism, which is replaced by the Koran. These conceptions of the construction of socialism are based on the fact that their advocates are in favor of socialism and certain of its elementary values, but without the LC and without Marxism as the theory and practice of society's development.

#### Fanaticism and Nationalism

[Question] Try at least in the briefest sketch to distinguish for us piety, fanaticism and nationalism.

[Answer] Piety, as I see it, is the most active feeling in an individual, that is, is internal need to believe that there exists some supernatural being, a god whom he takes as creator both of the world and of his destiny, and he consequently adapts that kind of attitude toward him. As a rule these are

citizens who conscientiously take part in economic, cultural and political life. Religious fanaticism, as I see it, exists in those people who subordinate secular interests to certain goals of the other world, who neglect their own life and avoid their obligations in building their own destiny, their own present and future, who, put most clearly, merely reflect about that other worldliness, about some life of theirs beyond the grave. The fanatic is the one who neglects everything except religion, who neglects all possibilities of a different opinion. It is no rarity today for that religious fanaticism to be tied up with nationalism. In our country, within SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Herzegovina particularly, there has been a specific circumstance in the way the nationalities have been officially recognized so that in certain periods of the development of our nationalities religions had certain influences on development of the nationality. That circumstance has had the result that there is an empirical and practical coincidence in which every Catholic feels himself to be a Croat, every Orthodox a Serb, and every member of Islam a Muslim. The religious communities make abundant use of this to strengthen the awareness of the identification of the religion and the nationality. And that identification is necessary not in order to protect the nationality, but exclusively for religion to defend itself against the ever stronger process of secularization. It is well known that wherever the tie-up is stronger between religion and the nationality, it is more difficult to win out over religion. In such a case religion is usually perceived as an essential and integral element of the national identity. For someone who views the relationship between religion and the nationality in this way, rejecting religion also signifies rejecting the nationality. The clericalists and nationalists are playing that card when they favor the tie-up between religion and the nationality. It ought to be clear to everyone that they cannot offer any sort of better program in the sphere of ethnic relations than has been offered by the LC.

#### Manipulation of Young People

[Question] Comrade Cvitkovic, we would put to you a question related to certain more up-to-date interpretations of sources of nationalism. Recent statements by individuals in the press related to the most recent sources of nationalism, especially among young people, are exclusively related to statization and separatism that exists in the republics and provinces? How much has a strengthening of statization and separatistic aspirations really influenced the surge of nationalism, and how much credit goes to traditional nationalistic impulses?

[Answer] To be frank, it pains me that various excesses resulting from nationalistic consciousness are occurring in a segment of the young generation. I am not in favor of our writing in an exaggerated way in the youth press and other press about excesses on a nationalistic basis which have occurred among young people in all republics and provinces. In my opinion, this indicates that in recent years we have not done enough work with the young generation. Nationalism is poison wine--as Krleza once said, which easily makes one intoxicated, especially the young generation. Manifestations of nationalism among the young occur as a rule in certain secondary school centers and in dormitories housing apprentices and university students.

We should bear in mind that these are young people who have not been included in the work process, and they are still under the strong influence of their parents. I have not heard of cases of nationalistic excess among young people in associated labor, in large work collectives. The excesses, then, are occurring in certain young people who have a nationalistic consciousness, which can be the result of influences of parents, society, that is, of the milieu in which they move. It is difficult to say that this is solely the result of statism and separatism. We can overcome nationalism, and not only nationalism, but also various other adverse ideological occurrences in our country, only if we consistently implement the concept of society's development in accordance with the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. Until we achieve that, I think that we will be giving an opportunity to nationalism, to separatism, to clericalism and to other oppositionist ideologies.

#### A Strengthening of Consensus

[Question] Are there also attempts to hide numerous economic difficulties behind nationalism, and in this connection isn't the nationalism in young people an expression of their rebellion, their inner protest, a bubbling over of their resentment?

[Answer] I think that it would be un-Marxist to say that economic and other difficulties which accompany the contemporary world, including our society, are not leaving their trace on the strengthening of various ideologists which are oppositionists from the standpoint of the development of socialism and self-management. In that context we agree that this kind of economic situation in the world and in our own country can favor the development of nationalism in young people, and there is also another circumstance which we dare not neglect: that in the postwar period we have been in far more difficult economic and political situations. Therefore it seems to me that it is not sound to explain the strengthening of nationalism solely on the basis of economic difficulties. Instead of such tales it would be far better if we were to commit ourselves to a greater degree to working with the young generation, if we were to be more concerned with raising the level of their Marxist and ideological-political consciousness. A man can live even in a difficult economic situation, but still this need not drive him to hate the members of another nationality. Those difficulties, and this has been demonstrated even in the history of our own working class and communist movement, have actually motivated our people to rally together, to unite and to fight to overcome those difficulties which they have in common.

#### Religious People in the Front

"Through our entire sociopolitical system we ought to build up an attitude and an awareness in our citizens so that not a single religious person has an antisocialist orientation because of his piety. And every one of them ought to be in the front, in the Socialist Alliance and public organizations which are integral parts of the Socialist Alliance. Every one of our citizens, then, be he religious or not, ought to be on the positions of brotherhood and unity, self-management socialism and nonalignment, that is, Tito's strategy for the development of Yugoslavia."



## Taking Over Lenin

"An example of reflections concerning Lenin, say, shows what manner of material is offered to our believers, what kind of judgments are furnished concerning individual figures and events. Even the religious communities attack Lenin and October. For example, in one 'religious' book distributed in SR B-H it says that the Jews in the world unanimously agreed to choose Lenin to carry out the Bolshevik revolution, that Lenin is a Jew, that his name was Heidman Goldman, that he was born 10 April 1870, that his father was named Ilikos Rol Goldman, his mother Sofija, and that Lenin was known in Russia as Vladimir Il'ich Ulyanov, and that his brother Alexander was the great emperor in 1881 known by the name Alexander II?"

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